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MISCELLANIES.

By Dr. SWIFT.

The NINTH VOLUME.



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THE
NINTH VOLUME.

The FIFTH EDITION.

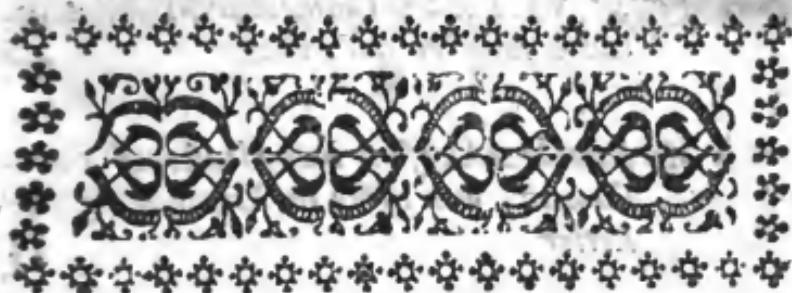


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THE
CONTENTS
OF
VOL. IX.

1721	A <i>Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufacture</i>	Page 1
1722	<i>The last Speech and dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston</i>	13
1723	<i>Some Arguments against enlarging the Power of the Bishops</i>	21
1724	<i>Let-</i>	

CONTENTS.

1724 *Letter VI. to Lord Chancellor Middleton,
concerning Wood's Coin* 46

— — — *An humble Address to both Houses of Parliament,
soon after the Drapier's IVth Letter* 73

— — — *Account of the Execution of Wood, &c.* 110

— — — *Considerations on the Attempts to pass
Wood's Coin* 118

1727 *A short View of the State of Ireland* 130

— — — *A Letter from Captain Gulliver to his
Cousin Sympson* 142

1728 *An Answer to a Memorial, &c.* 149

— — — *The Intelligencer, No. 3* 162

— — — *The Intelligencer, No. 19* 171

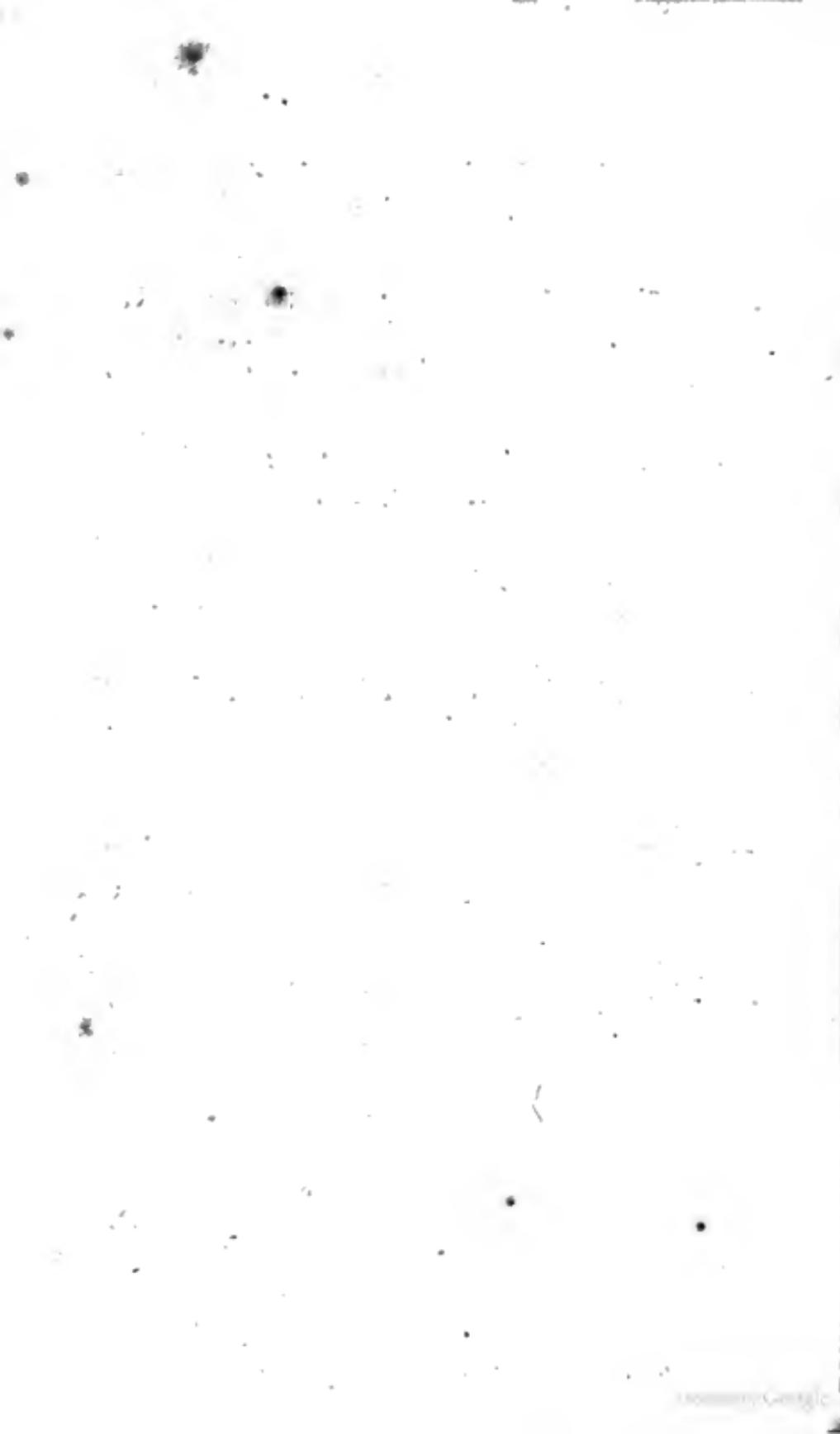
1732 *A Proposal for an Act of Parliament to
pay off the Debt of the Nation, &c.* 183

1732 *An*

CONTENTS.

<i>1732 An Examination of certain Abuses, &c. in the City of Dublin</i>	<i>192</i>
<i>- - - To the Honourable House of Commons, &c. the humble Petition of the Footmen in and about the City of Dublin</i>	<i>216</i>
<i>- - - The Advantages proposed by repealing the Sacramental Test, &c.</i>	<i>219</i>
<i>- - - Queries relating to the Sacramental Test</i>	<i>232</i>
<i>1733 Reasons humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland for repealing the Sacramen- tal Test</i>	<i>241</i>
<i>1734 Some Reasons against the Bill for settling the Tythe of Hemp, Flax, &c. by a Modus</i>	<i>259</i>
<i>- - - Some farther Reasons against the same</i>	<i>273</i>
<i>1711 Some Advice humbly offered to the Mem- bers of the October Club</i>	<i>279</i>
<i>1737 A Proposal for giving Badges to the Beggars in all the Parishes of Dublin</i>	<i>300</i>

A P R O -



A.

PROPOSAL*

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL USE

OF

IRISH MANUFACTURE, &c.

Written in the Year 1721.

IT is the peculiar Felicity and Prudence of the People in this Kingdom, that, whatever Commodities, or Productions, lie under the greatest Discouragements from *England*, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading.

* Of the Success of this Discourse, and the Prosecution of the Printer of it, see Letter V. of the *Drapier*, and the Prose Works of Mr. Pope, Vol. II. Letter V.

VOL. IX.

B

Agri-

2 *A Proposal for the Universal Use*

Agriculture, which hath been the principal Care of all wise Nations, and for the Encouragement whereof there are so many Statute-Laws in *England*, we countenance so well, that the Landlords are every where, by *penal Clauses*, absolutely prohibiting their Tenants from Plowing; not satisfied to confine them within certain Limitations, as is the Practice of the *English*; one Effect of which, is already seen in the prodigious Dearness of Corn, and the Importation of it from *London*, as the cheaper Market. And because People are the *Riches of a Country*, and that our *Neighbours* have done, and are doing all that in them lies, to make our Wool a Drug to us, and a Monopoly to them; therefore the politick Gentlemen of *Ireland* have depopulated vast Tracts of the best Land, for the feeding of Sheep.

I could fill a Volume as large as the *History of the wise Men of Gotham*, with a Catalogue only of some wonderful Laws and Customs we have observed within thirty Years past. It is true, indeed, our beneficial Tyaffick of Wool with *France*, hath been our only Support for several Years past, furnishing us with all the little Money we have to pay our Rents, and go to Market. But our Merchants assure me, *This Trade hath received a great Damp by the present fluctuating Condition of the Coin in France*; and that most of their Wine is paid for in *Specie*, without carrying thither any Commodity from hence.

How-

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *Flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our Wool, in case *Barnstaple* should be ever over-stocked, and our *French* Commerce should fail ?

I should wish the Parliament had thought fit to have suspended their Regulation of *Church* Matters, and Enlargements of the *Prerogative*, until a more convenient Time, because they did not appear very pressing (at least to the Persons *principally concerned*) and, instead of these great Refinements in *Politicks* and *Divinity*, had *amused* themselves and their Committees, a little, with the *State of the Nation*. For Example : What if the House of Commons had thought fit to make a Resolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, against wearing any Cloth or Stuff in their Families, which were not of the Growth and Manufacture of this Kingdom ? What if they extended it so far as utterly to exclude all Silks, Velvets, Calicoes, and the whole *Lexicon* of Female Fopperies ; and declared, that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an Enemy to the Nation* ? What if they had sent up such a Resolution to be agreed to by the House of Lords ; and by their own Practice and Encouragement, spread the Execution of it in their several Countries ? What if we should agree to make *burying in Woollen a Fashion*, as our Neighbours have made it a *Law* ? What if the Ladies would be content with *Irish* Stuffs for the Furniture of their Houses,

for Gowns and Petticoats to themselves and their Daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm Resolution be taken, by *Male* and *Female*, never to appear with one single *Shred* that comes from *England*; and let all the People say, *AMEN*.

I hope, and believe, nothing could please his Majesty better than to hear that his loyal Subjects of both Sexes, in this Kingdom, celebrated his *Birth-Day* (now approaching) universally clad in their own Manufacture. Is there Virtue enough left in this deluded People to save them from the Brink of Ruin? If the Mens Opinions may be taken, the Ladies will look as handsome in Stuffs as Brocades; and, since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their Wit and Fancy in chusing and matching of Patterns and Colours. I heard the late Archbishop of *Tuam* mention a pleasant Observation of some Body's; that *Ireland* would never be happy 'till a Law were made for burning every thing that came from *England*, except their People and their Coals. I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little Time we shall have no Occasion for them.

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti Judicis ostrum.

But I should rejoice to see a *Stay Lace* from *England* be thought scandalous, and become a Topick for *Censure* at *Visits* and *Tea Tables*.

If the unthinking Shop-keepers in this Town, had not been utterly destitute of common Sense, they would have made some *Proposal to the Parliament*, with a *Petition* to the Purpose I have mentioned ; promising to improve the *Cloths and Stuffs of the Nation*, into all possible Degrees of Fineness and Colours and engaging not to play the Knaves, according to their Custom, by exacting and imposing upon the Nobility and Gentry, either as to the Prices, or the Goodness. For I remember, in London upon a general Mourning, the rascally Mercers and Woollen Drapers would, in Four and Twenty Hours, raise their *Cloths and Silks* to above a double Price ; and if the Mourning continued long, then come whining with *Petitions to the Court*, that they were ready to starve, and their Fineries lay upon their Hands.

I could wish our Shop-keepers would immediately think on this *Proposal*, addressing it to all Persons of Quality, and others ; but first be sure to get some Body who can write Sense, to put it into Form.

I think it needless to exhort the *Clergy* to follow this good Example, because in a little Time, those among them, who are so unfortunate to have had their Birth and Education in this Country, will think themselves abundantly happy when they can afford Irish Crape, and an Athlone Hat ; and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have indeed, seen the present Archbishop of *Dublin* clad from Head to Foot in our own Manufacture,

and yet, under the Rose be it spoken, his Grace deserves as good a Crown, as if he had not been born among us.

I have not Courage enough to offer *one Syl-lable* on this Subject to their Honours of the Army: Neither have I sufficiently considered the great Importance of Scarlet and Gold Lace.

The Fable in *Ovid* of *Arachne* and *Pallas*, is to this Purpose: The Goddess had heard of one *Arachne* a young Virgin, very famous for Spinning and Weaving: They both met upon a Trial of Skill; and *Pallas* finding herself almost equall'd in her own Art, stung with Rage and Envy, knockt her *Rival* down, and turned her into a *Spider*; enjoining her to spin and weave for ever, *out of her own Bowels*, and *in a very narrow Compass*. I confess that, from a Boy, I always pitied poor *Arachne*, and could never heartily love the Goddess, on Account of so *cruel and unjust a Sentence*: which, however, is *fully executed* upon Us by *England*, with further Additions of *Rigour and Severity*. For the greatest Part of *our Bowels* and *Vitals* is extracted; without allowing us the Liberty of *spinning and weaving* them.

The Scripture tells us, that *Oppression makes a wise Man mad*; therefore, consequently speaking, the Reason why soine Men are not mad, is because they are not wise: However it were to be wished, that *Oppression* would, in Time, teach a little *Wisdom to Fools*.

I was

I was much delighted with a Person, who hath a great Estate in this Kingdom, upon his Complaints to me, *how grievously POOR England suffers by Impositions from Ireland*. That we *convey our own Wool to France, in Spight of all the Harpies at the Custom-House*. That *Mr. Shuttleworth, and others on the Cheshire Coasts, are such Fools to sell us their Bark at a good Price for tanning our own Hides into Leather*: *with other Enormities of the like Weight and Kind*. To which I will venture to add more: *That the Mayoralty of this City is always executed by an Inhabitant, and often by a Native, which might be as well done by a Deputy, with a moderate Salary, whereby POOR England loseth, at least, three thousand Pounds a Year upon the Balance*. That the Governing of this Kingdom costs the Lord Lieutenant *three Thousand six Hundred Pounds a Year*; so much net Loss to POOR England. That the People of Ireland presume to dig for Coals in their own Grounds; and the Farmers in the County of Wicklow send their Turf to the very Market of Dublin, to the great Discouragement of the Coal Trade of Mostyn and Whitehaven. That the Revenues of the Post-Office here, so righteously belonging to the English Treasury, as arising chiefly from our own Commerce with each other, should be remitted to London, clogged with that grievous Burthen of Exchange, and the Pensions paid out of the Irish Revenues to English Favourites should lie under the same Disadvantage, to the great Loss.

8 A Proposal for the Universal Use

Loss of the Grantees. When a Divine is sent over to a Bishoprick here, with the Hopes of Five and Twenty Hundred Pounds a Year; upon his Arrival, he finds, alas! a dreadful Discount of Ten or Twelve per Cent. A Judge, or a Commissioner of the Revenue, has the same Cause of Complaint. Lastly, The Ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish Manufacture; and yet is allowed to be sung in our open Streets, under the very Nose of the Government.

These are a few among the many Hardships we put upon that *POOR* Kingdom of *England*; for which, I am confident, every *honest* Man wisheth a *Remedy*: And, I hear, there is a Project on Foot for transporting our best Wheaten Straw, by Sea and Land Carriage, to *Dunstable*; and obliging us by a *Law*, to take off yearly so many *Tun* of *Straw-Hats*, for the Use of our Women; which will be a great *Encouragement* to the Manufacture of that industrious Town.

I would be glad to learn among the *Divines*, whether a *Law to bind Men without their own Consent*, be obligatory in *foro Conscientiae*; because, I find *Scripture*, *Sanderson*, and *Suarez*, are wholly silent in the matter. The Oracle of *Reason*, the great *Law of Nature*, and general Opinion of *Civilians*, wherever they treat of *limited Governments*, are, indeed, decisive enough.

It is wonderful to observe the *Byas* among our People in favour of *Things, Persons, and Wares*

Wares of all Kinds that come from *England*. The Printer tells his *Hawkers*, that he has got an excellent new Song just brought from London. I have somewhat of a Tendency that way myself; and upon hearing a *Coxcomb* from thence displaying himself with great Volubility, upon the *Park*, the *Play-House*, the *Opera*, the *Gaming Ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a Kind of Veneration for his Parts and Accomplishments: It is not many Years, since I remember a Person who by his Style and Literature, seems to have been the *Corrector* of a Hedge-Preis in some *Blind-Alley* about *Little-Britain*, proceed gradually to be an *Author*, at least * a *Translator* of a lower Rate, although somewhat of a Jarger Bulk, than any that now flourishes in *Grub-street*; and, upon the Strength of this Foundation, come over here, erect himself up into an *Orator* and *Politician*, and lead a *Kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very Motive* that prevailed on the † *Author* of a Play, called *Love in a Hollow Tree*, to do us the *Honour* of a Visit; presuming, with very good Reason, that he was a *Writer* of a superior Class. I know another, who, for Thirty Years past, hath been the *common Standard* of *Stupidity* in *England*, where he was never heard a Minute in any *Assembly* or by any *Party*, with *common Christian Treatment*; yet upon

* Supposed to be *Cæsar's Commentaries*, dedicated to the D--- of *Marlborough*.

† *L. G---mſt---n.*

his Arrival hither, could put on a Face of Importance and Authority, talk more than Six, without either Gracefulness, Propriety, or Meaning; and, at the same Time, be admired and followed, as the Pattern of Eloquence and Wisdom.

Nothing hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater Disposition to a contemptuous Treatment of Ireland in some chief Governors, than that high Style of several Speeches from the Throne, delivered, as usual, after the Royal Assent, in some Periods of the two last Reigns. Such Exaggerations of the prodigious Condescensions in the Prince, to pass those good Laws, would have but an odd Sound at Westminster: Neither do I apprehend, how any good Law can pass, wherein the King's Interest is not as much concerned as that of the People. I remember, after a Speech on the like Occasion, delivered by my Lord Wharton, (I think it was his last) he desired Mr. Addison to ask my Opinion on it: My Answer was, That his Excellency had very honestly forfeited his Head, on Account of one Paragraph; wherein he asserted, by plain Consequence, a dispensing Power in the Queen. His Lordship owned it was true, but swore the Words were put into his Mouth, by direct Orders from Court. From whence it is clear, that some Ministers in those Times were apt, from their high Elevation, to look down upon this Kingdom, as if it had been one of their Colonies of Outcasts in America. And I observed a little of the same Turn of Spirit

Spirit in *some great Men*, from whom I expected better ; although, to do them Justice, it proved no Point of Difficulty, to make them *correct their Idea* whereof the *whole Nation* quickly found the Benefit. But that is *forgotten*. How the Style hath since run, I am wholly a Stranger ; having never seen a Speech since the last of the Queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our Country Landlords ; who, by unmeasurable *screwing* and *racking* their Tenants all over the Kingdom, have reduced the miserable *People* to a worse *Condition* than the *Peasants* in *France*, or the *Vassals* in *Germany* and *Poland* ; so that the whole *Species* of what we call *Substantial Farmers*, will in a very few Years be utterly at an End. It was pleasant to observe these Gentlemen, *labouring* with all their *Might*, for preventing the *Bishops* from letting their Revenues at a moderate half Value, (whereby the whole *Order* would, in an Age, have been reduced to manifest *Beggary*) at the very Instant, when they were *canting* their own Land upon short *Leases*, and sacrificing their *oldest Tenants* for a *Penny an Acre Advance*. I know not how it comes to pass, (and yet, perhaps I know well enough) that *Slaves* have a natural Disposition to be *Tyrants*, and that when my *Betters* give me a Kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *Footman* ; although, perhaps he may be an honest and diligent Fellow. I have heard *great Divines* affirm, that *nothing is so likely to call down*

down an universal Judgment from Heaven upon a Nation, as universal Oppression; and whether this be not already verified in Part, their Worships the Landlords are now at full Leisure to consider. Whoever travels this Country, and observes the Face of Nature, or the Faces, and Habits, and Dwellings of the Natives, will hardly think himself in a Land where either Law, Religion, or common Humanity is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one Word upon a Thing they call a *Bank*, which, I hear, is projecting in this Town. I never saw the Proposals, nor understand any one Particular of their Scheme: What I wish for, at present, is only a sufficient Provision of *Hemp*, and *Caps*, and *Bells*, to distribute according to the several Degrees of *Honesty* and *Prudence* in some Persons. I hear only of a monstrous Sum already named; and, if OTHERS do not soon hear of it too, and hear of it with a *Vengeance*, then am I a Gentleman of less Sagacity than myself, and very few besides, take me to be. And the Jeft will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious Persons have assured me, that one half of this Money will be *real*, and the other half altogether *imaginary*. The Matter will be likewise much mended, if the Merchants continue to carry off our *Gold*, and our Goldsmiths do continue to melt down our heavy Silver.

N. B. About the Time that the following Speech was written, the Town was much pestered with Street-Robbers ; who, in a barbarous Manner, would seize on Gentlemen, and take them into remote Corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this Speech had so good an Effect, that there have been very few Robberies of that kind committed since.

THE LAST
SPEECH and DYING WORDS
OF
EBENEZER ELLISTON,
Who was executed the Second Day of
May, 1722

Published at his Desire, for the common Good.

I Am now going to suffer the just Punishment for my Crimes, prescribed by the Law of God and my Country. I know it is the constant Custom, that those who come to this Place should have Speeches made for them, and cryed about in their own Hearing, as they are carried to Execution ; and truly they are such Speeches, that, although our

Fraternity be an ignorant illiterate People, they would make a Man ashamed to have such Nonsense and false *English* charged upon him, even when he is going to the Gallows. They contain a pretended Account of our Birth and Family ; of the Fact for which we are to die ; of our sincere Repentance ; and a Declaration of our Religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same Treatment with my Predecessors. However, having had an Education one or two Degrees better than those of my Rank and Profession ; I have been considering, ever since my Commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this Occasion.

And First, I cannot say, from the Bottom of my Heart, that I am truly sorry for the Offence I have given to God and the World ; but I am very much so, for the bad Success of my Villainies in bringing me to my untimely End. For it is plainly evident, that after having some time ago obtained a Pardon from the Crown, I again took up my old Trade ; my evil Habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of Employment. And therefore, although in Compliance with my Friends, I resolve to go to the Gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a Book in my Hand, and my Eyes lift up ; yet I shall feel no more Devotion in my Heart than I have observed in my Comrades, who have been drunk among common Whores the very Night before their Execution. I can say

say farther from my own Knowledge, that two of my Fraternity, after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to Life, and made their Escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest Rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the Impudence at both Times they went to the Gallows, to smite their Breasts, and lift up their Eyes to Heaven all the Way.

Secondly, From the Knowledge I have of my own wicked Dispositions, and that of my Comrades, I give it as my Opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the Publick than the Mercy of the Government in ever pardoning or transporting us; unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are sure to be well paid, and then a Pardon may do good; by the same Rule, *That it is better to have but one Fox in a Farm than three or four.* But we generally make Shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater Rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by Experience, that some Hope we have of finding Mercy, when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great Encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young Fellows than the Company of those odious common Whores we frequent, and of which this Town is full: These Wretches put us upon all Mischief to feed their Lusts and Extravagancies: They are ten times more

bloody and cruel than Men, their Advice is always not to spare if we are pursued ; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all ; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are sure to be our Betrayers.

Now as I am a dying Man, something I have done which may be of good Use to the Publick. I have left with an honest Man (and indeed the only honest Man I was ever acquainted with) the Names of all my wicked Brethren, the present Places of their Abode, with a short Account of the chief Crimes they have committed ; in many of which I have been their Accomplice, and heard the rest from their own Mouths ; I have likewise set down the Names of those we call our Setters, of the wicked Houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen Goods. I have solemnly charged this honest Man, and have received his Promise upon Oath, that whenever he hears of any Rogue to be tried for Robbing, or House-breaking, he will look into his List, and if he finds the Name there of the Thief concerned, to send the whole Paper to the Government. Of this I here give my Companions fair and publick Warning, and hope they will take it.

In the Paper above-mentioned, which I left with my Friend, I have also set down the Names of several Gentlemen who have been robbed in *Dublin* Streets for three Years past : I have told the Circumstances of those Robberies ; and shewn plainly that nothing but the

Want

Want of common Courage was the Cause of their Misfortune. I have therefore desired my Friend, that whenever any Gentleman happens to be robbed in the Streets, he will get that Relation printed and published with the first Letters of those Gentlemen's Names, who by their own Want of Bravery are likely to be the Cause of all the Mischief of that Kind, which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the World without a short Description of that kind of Life, which I have led for some Years past; and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked Brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our Childhood, as to have no Sense of Goodness; yet something heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never easy till we are half drunk among our Whores and Companions; nor sleep sound, unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the Day, a wise Man would easily find us to be Rogues by our Faces, we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained Countenance; often turning back, and slinking through narrow Lanes and Alleys. I have never failed of knowing a Brother Thief by his Looks, though I never saw him before. Every Man among us keeps his particular Whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a Mind to change. When we have got a Booty, if it be in Money, we divide it equally among our Companions, and soon squander it away on our Vices in those

Houses that receive us ; for the Master and Mistress, and the very Tapster, go Snacks ; and besides make us pay triple Reckonings. If our Plunder be Plate, Watches, Rings, Snuff-boxes, and the like ; we have Customers in all Quarters of the Town to take them off. I have seen a Tankard worth Fifteen Pounds sold to a Fellow in Street for Twenty Shillings ; and a Gold Watch for Thirty. I have set down his Name, and that of several others in the Paper already mentioned. We have Setters watching in Corners, and by dead Walls, to give us Notice when a Gentleman goes by ; especially if he be any thing in Drink. I believe in my Conscience, that if an Account were made of a Thousand Pounds in stolen Goods ; considering the low Rates we sell them at, the Bribes we must give for Concealment, the Extortions of Ale-House Reckonings, and our necessary Charges, there would not remain Fifty Pounds clear to be divided among the Robbers. And out of this we must find Cloaths for our Whores, besides treating them from Morning to Night ; who, in Requital, reward us with nothing but Treachery and the Pox. For when our Money is gone, they are every Moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not go out to look for more. If any thing in this World be like Hell, as I have heard it described by our Clergy, the truest Picture of it must be in the Back-Room of one of our Ale-houses at Midnight ; where a Crew of Robbers and their Whores are met

met together after a Booty, and are beginning to grow drunk ; from which Time, until they are past their Senses, is such a continued horrible Noise of Cursing, Blasphemy, Lewdness, Scurrility, and brutifh Behaviour, such Roaring and Confusion, such a Clatter of Mugs and Pots at each other's Heads ; that *Bedlam* in Comparison, is a sober and orderly Place. At last they all tumble from their Stools and Benches, and sleep away the rest of the Night ; and generally the Landlord or his Wife, or some other Whore who has a stronger Head than the rest, picks their Pockets before they wake. The Misfortune is, that we can never be easy till we are drunk ; and our Drunkennes constantly exposes us to be more easily betray'd and taken.

This is a short Picture of the Life I have led ; which is more miserable than that of the poorest Labourer who works for Four-pence a Day ; and yet Custom is so strong, that I am confident, if I could make my Escape at the Foot of the Gallows, I should be following the same Course this very Evening. So that upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common Enemies of Mankind ; whose Interest it is to root us out like Wolves and other mischievous Vermin, against which no fair Play is required.

If I have done Service to Men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done Service to God ; and that will be better than a silly Speech made for me, ful of whining and canting,

ing, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my Ears tormented with, as I am passing along the Streets,

Good People, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a Man, the Death of a Dog.

E. E.



SOME

SOME ARGUMENTS

Against ENLARGING the
Power of BISHOPS, &c.

Written in the Year 1723.

IN handling this Subject, I shall proceed wholly upon the Supposition, that those of *our Party*, who profess themselves Members of the Church established, and under the Apostolical Government of Bishops, do desire the Continuance and Transmission of it to Posterity, at least in as good a Condition as it is at present. Because, as this Discourse is not calculated for Dissenters of any Kind; so neither will it suit the Talk or Sentiments of those Persons, who, with the Denomination of Churchmen, are Oppressors of the Clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great Incomes of the Bishops; which is a traditional Cant delivered down from former Times, and continued with great Reason, although it be now near 200 Years since almost three Parts in four

four of the Church Revenues have been taken from the Clergy : Besides the Spoils that have been gradually made ever since, of Glebes and other Lands, by the Confusion of Times, the Fraud of encroaching Neighbours, or the Power of Oppressors, too great to be encounter'd.

About the Time of the Reformation, many *Popish* Bishops of this Kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected, if they would not change their Religion, made long Leafes and Fee-farms of great Part of their Lands, reserving very inconsiderable Rents, sometimes only a Chieftaincy ; by a Power they assumed, directly contrary to many antient Canons, yet consistent enough with the Common Law. This Trade held on for many Years after the Bishops became Protestants ; and some of their Names are still remembered with Infamy, on account of enriching their Families by such sacrilegious Alienations. By these Means, Episcopal Revenues were so low reduced, that three or four Sees were often united to make a tolerable Competency. For some Remedy to this Evil, King *James* the First, by a Bounty that became a good Christian Prince, bestowed several forfeited Lands on the *Northern* Bishopricks : But in all other Parts of the Kingdom, the Church continued still in the same Distress and Poverty ; some of the Sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a Country Vicar. About the Middle of King *Charles* the First's Reign, the Legislature here

here thought fit to put a Stop, at least, to any farther Alienations ; and so a Law was enacted, prohibiting all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Corporations, from letting their Lands for above the Term of Twenty one Years ; the Rent reserved to be one half of the real Value of such Lands at the Time they were lett, without which Condition the Lease to be void.

Soon after the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, the Parliament taking into Consideration the miserable Estate of the Church ; certain Lands, by way of Augmentation, were granted to eight Bishops in the Act of Settlement, and confirmed in the Act of Explanation ; of which Bounty, as I remember, three Sees were, in a great Measure, defeated ; but by what Accidents, it is not here of any Importance to relate.

This, at present, is the Condition of the Church in *Ireland*, with regard to Episcopal Revenues : Which I have thus briefly (and, perhaps, imperfectly) deduced for some Information to those, whose Thoughts do not lead them to such Considerations.

By Virtue of the Statute, already mentioned, under King *Charles* the First, limiting Ecclesiastical Bodies to the Term of Twenty one Years, under the reserved Rent of half real Value ; the Bishops have had some Share in the gradual Rise of Lands, without which they could not have been supported, with any common Decency that might become their Station.

Station. It is above eighty Years since the passing of that Act : The See of *Meath*, one of the best in the Kingdom, was then worth about 400*l. per Annum* ; the poorer ones in the same Proportion. If this were their present Condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their Patents, or buy their Robes : But this will certainly be the Condition of their Successors, if such a Bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose, and believe, many Persons, who may give a Vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the Act which is now attempted to be repealed, or, at least, eluded ; some are for giving Bishops Leave to lett Fee-farms, others would allow them to lett Leases for Lives ; and the most moderate would repeal that Clause, by which the Bishops are bound to let their Lands at half Value.

The Reasons for the Rise of the Value in Lands, are of two Kinds. Of the first Kind, are long Peace and Settlement after the Devastations of War ; Plantations, Improvements of bad Soil, Recovery of Bogs and Marshes, Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, Increase of Inhabitants, Encouragement of Agriculture, and the like.

But there is another Reason for the Rise of Land, more gradual, constant, and certain ; which will have its Effects in Countries that are very far from flourishing in any of the Advantages I have just mentioned : I mean

the perpetual Decrease in the Value of Gold and Silver. I shall discourse upon these different Kinds, with a View towards the Bill now attempted.

As to the First: I cannot see how this Kingdom is at any Height of Improvement, while four Parts in five of the Plantations for thirty Years past, have been real Dis-improvements; Nine in Ten of the Quickset-Hedges being ruined for want of Care or Skill. And as to Forest-Trees, they being often taken out of Woods, and planted in single Rows on the Tops of Ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of Use, Beauty, or Shelter. Neither can it be said, that the Soil of *Ireland* is improved to its full Height, while so much lies all Winter under Water, and the Bogs made almost desperate by the ill cutting of the Turf: There hath, indeed, been some little Improvement in the Manufacture of Linen and Woollen, although very short of Perfection: But our Trade was never in so low a Condition: And as to Agriculture, of which all wise Nations have been so tender, the Desolation made in the Country by engrossing Graziers, and the great yearly Importation of Corn from *England*, are lamentable Instances under what Discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these Mortifications, I suppose there is no Well-wisher to his Country, without a little Hope, that in Time the Kingdom may be on a better Foot in some of the Articles above mentioned. But

it would be hard, if Ecclesiastical Bodies should be the only Persons excluded from any Share in publick Advantages; which yet can never happen without a greater Share of Profit to their Tenants: If God *sends Rain equally upon the Just and the Unjust*, why should those who wait at his Altars, and are Instructors of the People, be cut off from partaking in the general Benefits of Law, or of Nature?

But, as this way of Reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable Eye to the Clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present Disposition, or Fashion of the Age; I shall, therefore, dwell more largely upon the second Reason for the Rise of Land, which is *the perpetual Decrease of the Value of Gold and Silver.*

This may be observed from the Course of the *Roman History*, above two thousand Years before those inexhaustible Silver Mines of *Potosi* were known. The Value of an *Obolus*, and of every other Coin between the Time of *Romulus* and that of *Augustus*, gradually sunk above five Parts in six, as appears by several Passages out of the best Authors, And yet, the prodigious Wealth of that State did not arise from the Increase of Bullion in the World, by the Discovery of new Mines, but from a much more accidental Cause, which was the spreading of their Conquest, and thereby importing into *Rome* and *Italy*, the Riches of the *East* and *West*.

When the Seat of Empire was removed to *Constantinople*, the Tide of Money flowed that Way, without ever returning; and was scattered in *Asia*. But when that mighty Empire was overthrown by the *Northern* People, such a Stop was put to all Trade and Commerce, that vast Sums of Money were buried to escape the Plundering of the Conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those Ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the Value of Money in *England*, during the *Saxon* Reigns; but the Monkish and other Writers since the Conquest, have put that Matter in a clearer Light, by the several Accounts they have given us of the Value of Corn and Cattle, in Years of Dearth and Plenty. Every one knows, that King *John*'s whole Portion, before he came to the Crown, was but five Thousand Pounds without a Foot of Land.

I have likewise seen the Steward's Accounts, of an ancient noble Family in *England*, written in *Latin*, between three and four Hundred Years ago, with the several Prices of Wine and Victuals, to confirm my Observations.

I have been at the Trouble of computing (as others have done) the different Values of Money for about four Hundred Years past. *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, who lived about that Period, founded an Hospital in *Leicester*, for a certain Number of old Men; charging his Lands with a Groat a Week to each for their Maintenance, which is to this Day duly paid them. In those Times, a Penny was equal to

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Ten Pence Half-penny and somewhat more than Half a Farthing in ours; which makes about Eight Ninths Difference.

This is plain, also, from the old Custom upon many Estates in *England*, to lett for Leases of Lives (renewable at Pleasure) where the reserved Rent is usually about Twelve Pence a Pound, which then was near the Half real Value: And although the Fines be not fixed, yet the Landlord gets altogether not above three Shillings in the Pound of the Worth of his Land: And the Tenants are so wedded to this Custom, that, if the Owner suffer three Lives to expire, none of them will take a Lease upon other Conditions; or, if he brings in a Foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable Rent, the other Tenants, by all Manner of Injuries, will make that Foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the Farm; as the late Earl of *Bath* felt by the Experience of above ten Thousand Pounds Loss.

The gradual Decrease for about two Hundred Years after, was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the Account given by some Historians, that *Harry the Seventh* left behind him Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds; for although the *West-Indies* were discovered before his Death, and although he had the best Talents and Instruments for exacting of Money ever possessed by any Prince since the Time of *Vespasian* (whom he resembled in many Particulars) yet I conceive, that

that in his Days, the whole Coin of *England* could hardly amount to such a Sum. For in the Reign of *Philip and Mary*, Sir ---- *Cockain of Derbyshire*, the best House-keeper of his Quality in the County, allowed his Lady fifty Pounds a Year for maintaining the Family, one Pound a Year Wages to each Servant, and two Pounds to the Steward; as I was told by a Person of Quality who had seen the Original Account of his Oeconomy. Now this Sum of fifty Pounds, added to the Advantages of a large Domain, might be equal to about five Hundred Pounds a Year at present, or somewhat more than four *Fifths*.

The great Plenty of Silver in *England* began in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *Drake* and others took vast Quantities of Coin and Bullion from the *Spaniards*, either upon their own *American Coasts*, or in their Return to *Spain*. However, so much hath been imported annually from that Time to this, that the Value of Money in *England*, and most Parts of *Europe*, is sunk above one half, within the Space of an Hundred Years, notwithstanding the great Export of Silver for about Eighty Years past to the *East-Indies*, from whence it never returns. But Gold not being liable to the same Accident, and by new Discoveries growing every Day more plentiful, seems in Danger of becoming a Drug.

This hath been the Progress of the Value of Money in former Ages, and must of Necessity continue so for the Future, without

some new Invasion of *Goths* and *Vandals* to destroy Law, Property, and Religion, alter the very Face of Nature, and turn the World upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon the Subject, is intended only for the Conviction of those among our *own Party*, who are true Lovers of the Church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable Degree of Prosperity to the End of the World.

The Church is supposed to last for ever, both in its Discipline and Doctrine; which is a Privilege common to every petty Corporation, who must likewise observe the Laws of their Foundation. If a Gentleman's Estate, which now yields him a thousand Pounds a Year, had been set for ever at the highest Value, even in the flourishing Days of King *Charles the Second*, would it now amount to above four or five Hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three Hundred Years ago; would the reserved Rent at this Day be any more than a small Chieffry? Suppose the Revenues of a Bishop to have been under the same Circumstances; could he now be able to perform Works of Hospitality and Charity? Thus, if the Revenues of a Bishop be limited to a Thousand Pounds a Year; how will his Successor be in a Condition to support his Station with Decency, when the same Denomination of Money shall not answer an Half, a Quarter, or an Eighth Part of that Sum? Which must unavoidably be the

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Consequence of any Bill to elude the limiting Act, whereby the Church was preserved from utter Ruin.

The same Reason holds good in all Corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious Practice than that of granting Perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this Day ; although the Leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private Account in cheating the Community.

Several Colleges in *Oxford* were aware of this growing Evil about an hundred Years ago ; and, instead of limiting their Rents to a certain Sum of Money, prevailed with their Tenants to pay the Price of so many Barrels of Corn, to be valued as the Market went at two Seasons (as I remember) in the Year. For a Barrel of Corn is of a real intrinsick Value, which Gold and Silver are not : And by this Invention, these Colleges have preserv'd a tolerable Subsistence for their Fellows and Students, to this Day.

The present Bishops will indeed be no Sufferers by such a Bill ; because, their Ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great Decrease in the Value of Money ; or, at worst, they can make it up in the Fines, which will probably be greater than usual, upon the Change of Leafes into Fee-farms, or Lives ; or without the Power of obliging the Tenants to a real half Value. And as I cannot well blame them for taking such Advantages, (considering the Nature,

Nature of Human Kind) when the Question is only, whether the Money shall be put into their own, or another Man's Pocket : So they will never be excusable before God or Man, if they do not to their Death oppose, declare, and protest against any such Bill, as must in its Consequences compleat the Ruin of the Church, and of their own Order in this Kingdom.

If the Fortune of a private Person be diminished by the Weakness, or Inadvertency of his Ancestors, in letting Leases for ever at low Rents, the World lies open to his Industry for purchasing of more ; but the Church is barred by a *dead Hand* ; or if it were otherwise, yet the Custom of making Bequests to it, hath been out of Practice for almost two Hundred Years, and *a great deal directly contrary* hath been its Fortune.

I have been assured by a Person of some Consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the Account of some other Facts, already related, that the late * Bishop of *Salisbury*, (the greatest Whig of that Bench in his Days) confessed to him, that the Liberty which Bishops in *England* have, of letting Leases for Lives, would, in his Opinion, be one Day the Ruin of Episcopacy there ; and thought the Church in this Kingdom happy by the *Limitation Act*.

* Dr. *Burnet*.

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And have we not already found the Effect of this different Proceeding in both Kingdoms? Have not two *English* Prelates quitted their Peerage and Seats in Parliament, in a *Nation of Freedom*, for the Sake of a more ample Revenue, even in this unhappy Kingdom, rather than lie under the Mortification of living below their Dignity at Home? For which, however, they cannot be justly censured. I know, indeed, some Persons who offer, as an Argument for repealing the limiting Bill, that it may in future Ages prevent the Practice of providing this Kingdom with Bishops from *England*, when the only Temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as Things have gone for some Years past, Gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their Sons to the University, and from suffering them to enter into Holy Orders, when they are likely to languish under a Curacy, or small Vicarage, to the End of their Lives: but this is all a vain Imagination; for the Decrease in the Value of Money will equally affect both Kingdoms: And besides, when Bishopricks here grow too small to invite over Men of Credit and Consequence, they will be left more fully to the Disposal of a chief Governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate Chaplain, fond of a Title and Precedence. Thus will that whole Bench, in an Age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning Gownmen, humble Suplicants and Dependents upon the *Court* for a Morsel of Bread, and ready to serve every Turn that shall be demanded from them,

them, in hopes of getting some *Commendam* tacked to their Sees ; which must then be the Trade, as it is now too much in *England*, to the great Discouragement of the inferior Clergy. Neither is that Practice without Example among us.

It is now about Eighty-five Years since the passing of that limiting A&t, and there is but one Instance in the Memory of Man, of a Bishop's Lease broken upon the Plea of not being statutable ; which, in every Body's Opinion, could have been lost by no other Person than he who was then Tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his County. In the present * Bishop of *Meath*'s Case, that Plea did not avail, although the Lease were notoriously unstatutable ; the Rent reserved being, as I have been told, not a seventh Part of the real Value ; yet the Jury upon their Oaths, *very gravely*, found it to be according to the Statute ; and one of them was heard to say, That he would *eat his Shoes* before he would give a Verdict for the Bishop. A very few more have made the same Attempt with as little Success. Every Bishop and other Ecclesiastical Body, reckon Forty Pounds in an Hundred to be a reasonable half Value ; or if it be only a third Part, it seldom, or never, breeds any Difference between Landlord and Tenant. But when the Rent is from five to nine or ten Parts less than the Worth, the Bishop, if he consults the Good

* Dr. *Evans*, a *Welshman*.

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of his See, will be apt to expostulate ; and the Tenant, if he be an honest Man, will have some Regard to the Reasonableness and Justice of the Demand, so as to yield to a moderate Advancement, rather than engage in a Suit, where Law and Equity are directly against him. By these Means, the Bishops have been so true to their Trusts, as to procure some small Share in the Advancement of Rents ; although it be notorious that they do not receive the third Penny (Fines included) of the real Value of their Lands throughout the Kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what Inconvenience could accrue to the Publick, by one or two Thousand Pounds a Year, in the Hands of a Protestant Bishop, any more than of a Lay Person. * The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and hospitably as the other ; pays his Debts as honestly, and spends as much of his Revenue among his Tenants : Besides, if they be his immediate Tenants, you may distinguish them at first Sight, by their Habits and Horses ; or if you go to their Houses, by their comfortable Way of living. But the Misfortune is, that such immediate Tenants, generally speaking, have others under them, and so a Third and Fourth in Subordination,

* *Note,* This Part of the Paragraph is to be applied to the Period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when several of the late Queen's Bishops were living.

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till it comes to the *Welder* (as they call him) who sits at a Rack-Rent, and lives as miserably as an *Irish* Farmer upon a new Lease from a Lay Landlord. But suppose a Bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same Stuff with other Men) the Consequence to the Publick is no worse than if he were a 'Squire ; for he leaves his Fortune to his Son, or near Relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into Church.

And as there can be no Disadvantage to the Publick, in a Protestant Country, that a Man should hold Lands as a *Bishop*, any more than if he were a *Temporal* Person ; so it is of great Advantage to the Community, where a Bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound, in Conscience, to reside in his Diocese, and, by a solemn Promise, to keep Hospitality ; his Estate is spent in the Kingdom, not remitted to *England* ; he keeps the Clergy to their Duty, and is an Example of Virtue both to them and the People. Suppose him an ill Man ; yet his very Character will with-hold him from any great or open Exorbitancies. But, in Fact, it must be allowed, that some Bishops of this Kingdom, within twenty Years past, have done very signal and lasting Acts of publick Charity ; great Instances whereof are the * late and † present Primate, and the Lord ¶ Archbishop of *Dublin*, that now is, who hath left Memorials of his Bounty in many Parts of his Pro-

* Dr. *Marsh.* † Dr. *Lindsay.* ¶ Dr. *King,*
yince.

Vince. I might add the Bishop of * *Raphoe*, and several others: not forgetting the late Dean of *Down*, Dr. *Pratt*, who bestowed one Thousand Pounds upon the University; which Foundation, (that I may observe by the Way) if the Bill proposed should pass, would be in the same Circumstances with the Bishops, nor ever able again to advance the Stipends of the Fellows and Students; as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate Sum appointed by the Statutes for Commons being not half sufficient, by the Fall of Money, to afford necessary Subsistence. But the passing of such a Bill must put an End to all Ecclesiastical Benevolence for the Time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the Benefit; better than it hath been done by the Grantees of inappropriate Tythes, who received them upon the old Church Conditions of keeping Hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a Bill would be a good Encouragement to improve Bishops Lands, is a great Error. Is it not the general Method of Landlords, to wait the Expiration of a Lease, and then cant their Lands to the highest Bidder? And what should hinder the same Course to be taken in Church Leases, when the Limitation is removed, of paying half the real Value to the Bishop? In riding through the Country, how few Improvements do we see upon the Estates of Laymen, farther

* Dr. *Foster*.

than about their own Domains? To say the Truth, it is a great Misfortune as well to the Publick as to the Bishōps themselves, that their Lands are generally lett to Lords and great Squires, who, in Reason, were never designed to be Tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the Payment of Rent, as a Subsidiency they were not born to. If the Tenants to the Church were honest Farmers, they would pay their Fines and Rents with Chearfulness, improve their Lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half Value for what they held. I have heard a Man of a Thousand Pounds a Year, talk with great Contempt of Bishōps Leafes, as being on a worse Foot than the rest of his Estate; and he had certainly Reason: My Answer was, that such Leafes were originally intended only for the Benefit of industrious Husbandmen, who would think it a great Blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his Farm screw'd up to the Height, not eating one comfortable Meal in a Year, nor able to find Shoes for his Children.

I know not any Advantage that can accrue by such a Bill, except the preventing of Perjury in Jurymen, and false Dealing in Tenants, which is a Remedy like that of giving my Money to a Highwayman, before he attempts to take it by Force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the Sin of Robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an End; when a Bookseller sent me a small Pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of the Laity*, with

with some Queries ; full of the strongest Malice against the Clergy, that I have any where met with, since the Reign of *Toland*, and others of that Tribe. These Kinds of Advocates do infinite Mischief to our GOOD CAUSE, by giving Grounds to the unjust Reproaches of **TORIES** and **JACOBITES**, who charge us with being Enemies to the Church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned Loyalty to his Majesty King *GEORGE*, and the House of *Hanover*, not shaken in the least by the Hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a Prince ; if I sincerely abjure the **PRETENDER**, and all **PO-PISH** **SUCCESSORS** ; if I bear a due Veneration to the glorious Memory of the late King *WILLIAM*, who preserved these Kingdoms from **POPERY** and **SLAVERY**, with the Expence of his Blood, and Hazard of his Life ; and lastly, if I am for a proper Indulgence to all *Dissenters*, I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of *Me* as a **WHIG**, and that my political Catechism is full and complete. But whoever, under the Shelter of that Party Denomination, and of many great Professions of Loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure the CHURCH established ; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to chuse another Name of Distinction for himself and his Adherents. I came into the Cause upon other Principles, which, by the Grace of GOD, I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the Accusations of our Adversaries ? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*----The **TORIES** and **JACOBITES** will

behold us, with a malicious Pleasure, determined upon the Ruin of our *Friends*. For is not the present Set of Bishops almost entirely of that Number, as well as a great Majority of the priucipal Clergy ? And a short Time will reduce the whole, by Vacancies upon Death.

An impartial Reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold *Queries* in the Pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the Reason still strongly exists, for which that limiting Law was enacted*. A reasonable Man will wonder, where can be *the insufferable Grievance*, that an *Ecclesiastical Landlord* should expect a moderate or a third Part Value in Rent for his Lands, when his Title is *at least*, as ancient and as legal as that of a Layman, who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial Bargains ? Has *the Nation been thrown into Confusion* ? And have *many poor Families been ruined* by Rack-Rents paid for the Lands of the Church ? Does *the Nation cry out* to have a Law that must, in Time, send their Bishops a begging ? But, God be thanked, the Clamours of Enemies to the Church is not yet the *Cry*, and, I hope, will never prove the *Voice* of the Nation. The Clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the People maintains them*, any more than in the Sense, that all Landlords whatsoever are maintained by the People. Such Assertions as these, and the Insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from Principles which cannot

be avowed by those who are for preserving the happy *Constitution* in *Church* and *State*. Whoever were the Proposers of such *Queries*, it might have provoked a bold Writer to retaliate, perhaps with more Justice than Prudence, by shewing at whose Door the Grievance lies, and that the Bishops, *at least*, are not to answer for the Poverty of Tenants.

To gratify this great Reformer, who enlarges the *Episcopal* Rent-Roll almost one half, let me suppose that all the Church Lands in the Kingdom were thrown up to the Laity; would the Tenants in such a Case sit easier in their Rents than they do now? Or, would the Money be equally spent in the Kingdom. No; The Farmer would be screwed up to the utmost Penny by the Agents and Stewards of *Absentees*, and the Revenues employed in making a Figure at *London*; to which City a full third Part of the whole *Income of Ireland* is annually returned, to answer that single *Article of Maintenance* for *Irish Landlords*.

Another of his *Quarrels* is against *Pluralities* and *Non-Residence*: As to the former, it is a Word of ill Name, but not well understood. The Clergy having been stripped of the greatest Part of their Revenues, the *Glebes* being generally lost, the *Tythes* in the Hands of Laymen, the Churches demolished, and the Country depopulated; in order to preserve a Face of *Christianity*, it was necessary to unite small *Vicarages* sufficient to make a tolerable Maintenance for a *Minister*. The Profit of

Ten or a Dozen of these *Unions* seldom amounts to above Eighty or an Hundred Pounds a Year. If there be a very few *Dignitaries*, whose Preferments are perhaps more liable to this Accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be *Favourites of the Time*; or Persons of *superior Merit*, for whom there hath ever been some Indulgence in all Governments,

As to *Non-Residence*, I believe there is no Christian Country upon Earth, where the Clergy have less to answer for upon that *Article*. I am confident there are not ten Clergymen in the Kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed *Non-Residents*: For surely, we are not to reckon in that Number, those who, for want of *Glebes*, are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring Village for a *Cabbin* to put their Heads in; the leading Man of the Parish, when he makes the greatest Clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *Minister* with an Acre of Ground. And indeed, considering the *Difficulties* the Clergy lie under upon this Head, it hath been frequent Matter of Wonder to *Me*, how they are able to perform that Part of their Duty so well as they do.

There is a * noble Author, who hath lately addressed to the House of COMMONS an excellent Discourse for the *Encouragement of Agriculture*; full of most useful *Hints*, which, I hope, that honourable ASSEMBLY will con-

* *The late Lord Molesworth.*

under as they deserve. I am not a Stranger to his Lordship, and, excepting in what relates to the Church, there are few Persons with whose Opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am, therefore, grieved when I find him charging the Inconveniences in the Payment of *Tythes* upon the *Clergy* and their *Proctors*. His Lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar Truth, that the meanest Farmer hath all manner of Advantages against the most *powerful* Clergyman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *Minister* were ever so evil-disposed; the whole System of *teizing, perplexing, and defrauding* the *Proctor*, or his *Master*, being as well known to every *Plowman*, as the reaping or sowing of his Corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading Man in the Parish must have his *Tythes* at his own Rate, which is hardly ever above one Quarter of the Value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful Observers, whose Interest was not concerned, that the *Clergy* did not receive, throughout the Kingdom, one Half of what the Laws have made their Due.

As to his Lordship's Discontent against the *Bishops-Court*, I shall not interpose farther than in venturing my private Opinion, that the *Clergy* would be very glad to recover their just *Dues* by a more *short, decisive, and compulsive* Method, than such a cramped and limited Jurisdiction will allow.

His Lordship is not the only Person disposed to give the *Clergy* the Honour of being the *sole*

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Encouragers of all new Improvements. If *Hops, Hemp, Flax*, and Twenty *Things* more are to be planted, the Clergy, *alone*, must reward the industrious Farmer, by Abatement of the *Tythe*. What if the Owner of Nine Parts in Ten would please to abate proportionably in his Rent, for every Acre thus improved? Would not a Man just dropt from the Clouds, upon a full Hearing, judge the Demand to be, at least, as reasonable?

I believe no Man will dispute his Lordship's Title to his Estate; nor will I the *Jus Divinum* of *Tythes*, which he mentions with some Emotion. I suppose the Affirmative would be of little Advantage to the Clergy, for the same Reason: that a *Maxim* in *Law* hath more Weight in the World, than an *Article of Faith*. And yet I think there may be such a Thing as *Sacrilege*; because it is frequently mentioned by *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, as well as described in *Holy Writ*. This I am sure of, that his Lordship would at any Time excuse a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itself in his Properties without his own Consent.

The Observations I have made upon his Lordship's Discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my Subject: However, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some Proposals to the House of Commons with relation to the Clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own Principle, the Desire of defending *Liberty*.

ber ty and Property, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other Writer openly declares for a Law empowering the Bishops to set *Fee Farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates that they will deny their Consent to such a reasonable Law, which the whole Nation cries for, are Enemies to them and the Church*. Whether this be his real Opinion, or only a strain of Mirth and Irony, the Matter is not much. However, my Sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this Argument, hath either no Regard for the Church established under the Hierarchy of Bishops, or will never consent to any Law that shall repeal, or elude the limiting Clause, relating to the real half Value, contained in the A&t of Parliament *Decimo Caroli, For the Preservation of the Inheritance, Rights and Profits of Lands belonging to the Church, and Persons Ecclesiastical*; which was grounded upon Reasons that do still, and must for ever subsist.

October 21,

1723.

A L E T

A

L E T T E R

T O T H E

LORD CHANCELLOR

M I D D L E T O N.

Written in the Year 1724.

MY LORD,

I Desire you will consider me as a Member who comes in at the latter End of a Debate; or as a Lawyer who speaks to a Cause, when the Matter has been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some Months ago I was at your House upon a Commission, where I am one of the Governors; but I went thither, not so much on account of the Commission, as to ask you some Questions concerning Mr. Wood's Patent to coin Half-pence for *Ireland*; where you very freely told me, in a mixt Company, how much you had been always against that wicked Project; which raised in me an Esteem for

for you so far, that I went in a few Days to make you a Visit, after many Years Intermision. I am likewise told, that your Son wrote two Letters from *London* (one of which I have seen) empowering those to whom they were directed, to assure his Friends, that whereas there was a malicious Report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. *Walpole* for Forty Thousand Pounds of *Wood's* Coin, to be received in *Ireland*, the said Report was false and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that Minister on the Subject, nor would ever give his Consent to have one Farthing of the said Coin current here. And although it be long since I have given myself the Trouble of conversing with People of Titles or Stations; yet I have been told by those who can take up with such Amusements, that there is not a considerable Person of the Kingdom, scrupulous in any Sort to declare his Opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous Consequences of *Wood's* Patent, have been so strongly represented by Both Houses of Parliament; by the Privy Council; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*; by so many Corporations; and the Concurrence of the principal Gentlemen in most Counties, at their Quarter-Sessions, without any Regard to Party, Religion, or Nation.

I conclude from hence, that the Currency of these Half-pence would, in the universal Opinion of our People, be utterly destructive to this Kingdom; and consequently that it is every Man's

Man's Duty, not only to refuse this Coin him-self, but, as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: And whether this be done in private or in print, is all a Case; as no Layman is forbid to write, or to discourse upon Religious or Moral Subjects; although he may not do it in a Pulpit (at least in our Church.) Neither is this an Affair of State, until Authority shall think fit to declare it so; or if you should understand it in that Sense, yet you will please to consider that I am not now a preaching.

Therefore, I do think it my Duty, since the *Drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his Place, as not to incur his Fortune: For I have learnt from old Experience, that there are Times wherein a Man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those Characters, I may be allowed, by offering new Arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refresh the Memory of my Fellow-Subjects, and keep up that good Spirit raised among them; to preserve themselves from utter Ruin by lawful Means, and such as are permitted by his Majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two Propositions: First, that we are a most loyal People; and, Secondly, that we are a free People, in the common Acceptation of that Word, applied to a Subject under a limited Monarch: I know very well, that you and I did many Years ago in Discourse differ much, in the Presence of Lord *Wharton*, about the

the Meaning of that Word *Liberty*, with relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free People; there is only another Appellation left; which I doubt, my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed* would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow: For, I observed, and I shall never forget upon what Occasion, the Device upon his Coach to be *Libertas & natale Solum*; at the very Point of Time when he was sitting in his Court, and perjuring himself to betray both.

Now, as for our Loyalty to His present Majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other Part of his Dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded; and I am confident he hath not a Minister in *England* who could ever call it once in Question; but that some hard Rumours at least have been transmitted from t'other Side of the Water, I suppose you will not doubt: And Rumours of the severest Kind; which many good People have imputed to the indirect Proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his Envoys; as if he endeavoured it should be thought that our Loyalty depended upon the Test of refusing or taking his Copper. Now as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal People; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper Marks of Favour and Protection from so gracious a King, that a loyal and free People can expect: Among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; That *Wood's* Half-pence may never have Entrance into this Kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare

no longer express our Wishes; although there were no such Mortal as a *Drapier* in the World.

I am heartily sorry, that any Writer should, in a Cause so generally approved, give Occasion to the Government and Council to charge him with * Paragraphs "highly reflecting upon His Majesty and His Ministers; tending to alienate the Affections of his good Subjects in *England* and *Ireland* from each other; and to promote Sedition among the People." I must confess, that, with many others I thought, he meant well; although he might have the Failing of better Writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *Drapier* is but one Man, I shall think I do a publick Service, by asserting that the rest of my Countrymen are wholly free from learning out of his Pamphlets to reflect on the King or His Ministers, to breed Sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least Reflection cast upon the King, upon the Subject of Mr. Wood's Coin: For, in many Discourses on this Matter, I do not remember His Majesty's Name to be so much as mentioned. As to the Ministry in *England*, the

* Taken out of the *Drapier's 4th Letter*, for which the Printer was prosecuted, and a Proclamation published against the Author, offering 300*l.* Reward for discovering him.

only two Persons hinted at were the Duke of *Grafton* and Mr. *Walpole*: The former, as I have heard you, and a Hundred others, affirm, declared, that he never saw the Patent in favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was passed, although he was then Lord Lieutenant: And therefore I suppose every Body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it since.

Mr. *Walpole* was indeed supposed to be understood by the Letter *W.* in several News Papers; where it is said that some Expressions fell from him not very favourable to the People of *Ireland*; for the Truth of which, the Kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the Discretion of the Publishers. You observe, the *Drapier* wholly clears Mr. *Walpole* of this Charge by very strong Arguments; and speaks of him with Civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the Company gave their Opinion, that Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood*'s Projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own Part, never once opened my Lips against that Minister, either in mixed or particular Meetings: And my Reason for this Reservedness was; because it pleased him in the Queen's Time (I mean Queen *Anne* of ever blessed Memory) to make a Speech directly against me, by Name, in the House of Commons, as I was told a very few Minutes after in the Court of *Requests*, by more than fifty Members.

But You, who are in a great Station here, (if any Thing here may be called Great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by publick Voice to be chief Minister, will, among the general Talkers, share the Blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked ; which I could easily make appear in many Instances, from my own Knowledge, while I was in the World ; and particularly in the Case of the * greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt Minister, I ever conversed with.

But, whatever unpleasing Opinion some People might conceive of Mr. *Walpole*, on Account of those Half-pence ; I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many Persons of Credit, come from *England*, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have seen Letters under his Hand, full of Arrogance and Infolence towards *Ireland*, and boasting of his Favour with Mr. *Walpole* ; which is highly probable ; because he reasonably thought it for his Interest to spread such a Report, and because it is the known Talent of low and little Spirits, to have a great Man's Name perpetually in their Mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the People of *Ireland*, from learning any bad Lessons out of the *Drapier's* Pamphlets, with regard to his Majesty and his Ministers : And therefore, if those Papers were intended to sow Sedition a-

* Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer Oxford.
morg

mong us, God be thanked, the Seeds have fallen upon a very improper Soil.

As to alienating the Affections of the People of *England* and *Ireland* from each other ; I believe, the *Drapier*, whatever his Intentions were, hath left that Matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both Kingdoms, as well in Country as in Town ; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most Men in the Dispositions of each People towards the other. By the People I understand here, only the Bulk of the common People ; and I desire no Lawyer may distort or extend my Meaning.

There is a Vein of Industry and Parsimony, that runs through the whole People of *England*, which, added to the Easiness of their Rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more of it than they do of *Mexico* ; farther than that it is a Country subject to the King of *England*, full of Boggs, inhabited by wild *Irish Papists*, who are kept in Awe by mercenary Troops sent from thence : And their general Opinion is, that it were better for *England*, if this whole Island were sunk into the Sea : For they have a Tradition, that every forty Years there must be a Rebellion in *Ireland*. I have seen the grossest Suppositions pass upon them ; and that the wild *Irish* were taken in Toyls ; but that, in some Time, they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your Hands : I have been asked by Hundreds, and particularly by my Neighbours, your Tenants, at *Pepper-hora*, whether I had come

from *Ireland* by Sea: And upon the Arrival of an *Irishman* to a Country Town, I have known Crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A Gentleman now in *Dublin*, affirms, that passing some Months ago through *Northampton*, and finding the whole Town in a Lurry, with Bells, Bonfires, and Illuminations; upon asking the Cause, was told, it was for Joy, that the *Irish* had submitted to receive *Wood's* Half-pence. This, I think, plainly shews what Sentiments that large Town hath of us; and how little they made it their own Cafe; although they lie directly in our Way to *London*, and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human Shapes.

As to the People of this Kingdom, they consist either of *Irish Papists*, who are as inconsiderable, in Point of Power, as the Women and Children; or of *English Protestants*; who love their Brethren of that Kingdom; although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used: However, I confess, I do not see any great Consequence, how their personal Affections stand to each other while the Sea divides them, and while they continue in their Loyalty to the same Prince. And yet, I will appeal to you, whether those from *England* have Reason to complain when they come hither in Pursuit of their Fortunes? Or, whether the People of *Ireland* have Reason to boast,

boast, when they go *England* on the same Design?

My second Proposition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free People: This, I suppose, you will allow, at least, with certain Limitations remaining in your own Breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the Words *Liberty* and *Property*, as applied to the Subject, are often mentioned in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in yours, and other Courts below, from whence it must follow that the People of *Ireland* do, or *ought* to enjoy all the Benefits of the Common and Statute Law; such as to be tried by Juries, to pay no Money without their own Consent, as represented in Parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed that a free People cannot, by Law, be compelled to take any Money in Payment, except Gold and Silver; I do not see why any Man should be hindered from cautioning his Countrymen against this Coin of *William Wood*; who is endeavouring by Fraud to rob us of that Property, which the Laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and that this Copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *Drapier's* Case in another Light; by supposing that a Person going into his Shop should agree for Thirty Shillings Worth of Goods, and force the Seller to take his Payment in a Parcel of Copper-Pieces, intrinsically not worth above a Crown: I desire to know whether the *Drapier* would not be actually robbed of

Five and Twenty Shillings, and how far he could be said to be Master of his Property ? The same Question may be applied to Rents and Debts on Bond or Mortgage, and to all Kind of Commerce whatsoever.

Give me Leave to do what the *Drapier* hath done more than once before me ; which is, to relate the naked Fact, as it stands in the View of the World.

One *William Wood*, Esq; an Hardware-man, obtains, by Fraud, a Patent in *England*, to coin 108,000 *l.* in Copper, to pass in *Ireland* ; leaving us Liberty to take, or to refuse. The People here, in all Sorts of Bodies and Representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this Coin : To justify these Declarations, they generally offer two Reasons ; first, because, by the Words of the Patent, they are left to their own Choice ; And, secondly, because they are not obliged by Law : So that here you see there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a Kingdom on one Side, and *William Wood* on the other. And if Mr. *Wood* gets the Victory at the Expence of *Ireland's* Ruin, and the Profit of One or Two hundred Thousand Pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself ; I doubt, both present and future Ages will, at least, think it a very singular Scheme.

If this Fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon it as my Duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the Bounds of Truth, of Duty, and of Decency,

Decency, to warn my Fellow-Subjects, as they value their King, their Country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious Coin; no not so much as one single Half-penny. For if one single Thief forces the Door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole Crew behind.

And, while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself Leave to suppose, that what I say can either offend my * *Lord Lieutenant*; whose Person and great Qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his Excellency will be my Witness) or the Ministers in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the *Privy Council* here; who, as I am informed, did send an Address to his Majesty against Mr. *Wood's* Coin; which if it be a Mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a Spreader of false News: But, I confess, I am so great a Stranger to Affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole Body of the Council may since have been changed: And, although I observed some of the very same Names in a late Declaration against that Coin which I saw subscribed to the Proclamation against the *Drapier*, yet possibly they may be different Persons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this Controversy, where the Reasoners on each Side are divided by St. George's Chan-

* *Lord Carteret.*

nel, his Majesty's Prerogative, perhaps, would not have been mentioned, if Mr. *Wood* and his Advocates had not made it necessary, by giving out, that the Currency of his Coin should be enforced by a Proclamation. The Traders and common People of the Kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this Coin; but the Fear of a Proclamation brought along with it most dreadful Apprehensions: It was therefore absolutely necessary for the *Drapier*, to remove this Difficulty; and accordingly, in one of his former Pamphlets, he had produced invincible Arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the King's Prerogative was not at all concerned in the Matter; since the Law had sufficiently provided against any Coin to be imposed upon the Subject, except Gold and Silver; and that Copper is not Money, but, as it hath been properly called, *Nummorum Famulus*.

The three former Letters from the *Drapier*, having not received any publick Censure, I look upon them to be without Exception; and that the good People of the Kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that Spirit raised against this destructive Coin of Mr. *Wood*: As for this last Letter, against which a Proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my Abilities were equal; but being naturally somewhat slow of Comprehension, no Lawyer, and

and apt to believe the best of those who profess good Designs, without any visible Motive either of Profit or Honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the Cockle from the Corn.

That which, I am told, gives the greatest Offence in this last Letter, is where the *Drapier* affirms, that if a Rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*, he would venture so far to transgres the *Irish Statute*, (which unites *Ireland* to *England* under one King) as to lose every Drop of his Blood, to hinder him from being King of *Ireland*.

I shall not presume to vindicate any Man, who openly declares he would transgres a Statute; and a Statute of such Importance: But, with the most humble Submission and Desire of Pardon for a very innocent Mistake, I should be apt to think that the loyal Intention of the Writer might be at least some small Extenuation of his Crime: For, in this I confess myself to think with the *Drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other Objections against that Pamphlet; but I suppose they will all appear at the Prosecution of the *Drapier*. And, I think, whoever in his own Conscience believes the said Pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his Ministers, &c.*, would do well to discover the Author, (as little a Friend as I am to the Trade

Trade of Informers) although the Reward of 300*l.* had not been tack'd to the Discovery. I own, it would be a great Satisfaction to me, to hear the Arguments not only of Judges, but of Lawyers upon this Case. Because you cannot but know, there often happen Occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves ; and therefore it hath been the Wisdom of the *English* Parliaments, to be very reserved in limiting the Press. When a Bill is debating in either House of Parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the Controversy handled by Pamphlets on both Sides ; without the least Animadversion upon the Authors.

So here, in the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin ; since the two Houses gave their Opinion by Addresses, how dangerous the Currency of that Copper would be to *Ireland* ; it was without all Question, both lawful and convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be let more particularly into the Nature of the Danger they were in ; and of the Remedies that were in their own Power, if they would have the Sense to apply them ; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular Persons, to whom GOD hath given Zeal and Understanding sufficient for such an Undertaking. Thus it happened in the Case of that destructive Project for a Bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into Parliament a few Years ago ;

ago ; and it was allowed that the Arguments and Writings of some without Doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able Lawyers would prescribe the Limits, how far a private Man may venture in delivering his Thoughts upon publick Matters : Because a true Lover of his Country, may think it hard to be a quiet Stander-by, and an indolent Looker-on, while a publick Error prevails, by which a whole Nation may be ruined. Every Man who enjoys Property, hath some Share in the Publick ; and therefore, the Care of the Publick is, in some Degree, every such Man's Concern.

To come to Particulars. I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any Writer so much as to mention the Prerogative ; at least so far as to bring it into doubt, upon any Point whatsoever : I know it is often debated in *Westminster-Hall* ; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent Lawyers, do frequently handle that Subject in their Books.

Secondly, How far the Prerogative extends to force Coin upon the Subject, which is not Sterling ; such as Lead, Brass, Copper, mixt Metal, Shells, Leather, or any other Material ; and fix upon it whatever Denomination the Crown shall think fit.

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that Phrase of a *depending Kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*, and wherein that *Dependency* consisteth ?

Lastly, In what Points relating to *Liberty* and *Property* the People of *Ireland* differ, or at least, *ought* to differ, from those of *England*?

If these Particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite Ease and Use to the Kingdom; and either prevent or silence all Discontents.

My Lord *Somers*, the greatest Man I ever knew of your Robe; and whose Thoughts of *Ireland* differed as far as Heaven and Earth, from those of some others among his Brethren here, lamented to me that the Prerogative of the Crown, or the Privileges of Parliament, should ever be liable to dispute, in any single Branch of either; by which Means, he said, the Publick often suffered great Inconveniences; whereof he gave me several Instances. I produce the Authority of so eminent a Person, to justify my Desires, that some high Points might be cleared.

For want of such known Ascertainment, how far a Writer may proceed in expressing his good Wishes for his Country, a Person of the most innocent Intentions may possibly, by the Oratory and Comments of Lawyers, be charged with many Crimes, which from his very Soul he abhors.; and consequently may be ruined in his Fortunes, and left to rot among Thieves in some stinking Jayl; merely for mistaking the Purlieus of the Law. I have known in my Life-time, a Printer prosecuted

secuted and convicted, for publishing * a Pamphlet, where the Author's Intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent, as those of a Martyr at his last Prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my Duty, preach to the People under my Inspection, upon the Subject of Mr. Wood's Coin; and although I never heard that my Sermon gave the least Offence, as I am sure none was intended; yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would insure it from the Hands of the common Hang-man; or my own Person from those of a Messenger.

I have heard the late Chief Justice *Holt* affirm, that, in all criminal Cases, the most favourable Interpretation should be put upon Words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same Position asserted in many Trials, for the greatest Crimes; tho' often very ill practised, by the perpetual Corruption of Judges. And I remember, at a Trial in *Kent*, where Sir *George Rook* was indicted for calling a Gentleman Knavery and Villainy, the Lawyer for the *Defendant* brought off his Client, by alledging that the Words were not injurious; for *Knavery*, in the old and true Signification, imported only a Servant; and Villain in *Latin*, is *Villicus*; which is no more than a Man

* Supposed to be, A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures, written by the Author.

employed in Country Labour, or rather a Baily.

If Sir *John Holt's* Opinion were a Standard Maxim for all Times and Circumstances, any Writer, with a very small Measure of Discretion might easily be safe ; but, I doubt, in Practice it hath been frequently controuled, at least before his Time : For I take it to be an old Rule in Law.

I have read, or heard, a Passage of Signior *Leti*, an *Italian* ; who being in *London* busying himself with writing the History of *England*, told King *Charles the Second*, that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving Offence, but found it a Thing impossible ; although he should have been as wise as *Solomon*. The King answered, that if this were the Case, he had better employ his Time in writing Proverbs, as *Solomon* did. But *Leti* lay under no publick Necessity of writing ; neither would *England* have been one Half-penny the better, or the worse, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected ; what have private Men to do with the Publick ? What Call had a *Drapier* to turn Politician, to meddle in Matters of State ? Would not his Time have been better employed in looking to his Shop ; or his Pen in writing Proverbs, Elegies, Ballads, Garlands, and Wonders ? He would then have been out of all Danger of Proclamations,

clamations, and Prosecutions. Have we not able Magistrates and Counsellors, hourly watching over the Publick Weal ? All this may be true : And yet when the Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, against Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence, failed of Success ; if some Pen had not been employed to inform the People how far they might legally proceed in refusing that Coin, to detect the Fraud, the Artifice, and Insolence of the Coiner, and to lay open the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom ; which would inevitably follow from the Currency of the said Coin : I might appeal to many Hundred Thousand People, whether ever any one of them would ever have the Courage or Sagacity to refuse it.

If this Copper should begin to make its Way among the common ignorant People, we are inevitably undone ; it is they who give us the greatest Apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow Mis-informations : For, if every Man were wise enough to understand his own Interest, which is every Man's principal Study, there would be no need of Pamphlets upon this Occasion : But, as Things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my Duty to God, my King, and my Country, to inform the People, that the Proclamation lately issued against the *Drapier*, doth not in the least affect the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin ; but only refers to cer-

tain Paragraphs in the *Drapier's* last Pamphlet, (not immediately relating to his Subject, not at all to the Merits of the Cause) which the Government was pleased to dislike; so that any Man has the same Liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this Coin, which he had before: Neither is any Man obliged to believe, that those honourable Persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable Proclamation against the *Drapier*, have at all changed their Opinions, with regard to Mr. *Wood*, or his Coin.

Therefore, concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure Foot, I shall continue, upon any proper Occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that Spirit raised in the Nation, (whether the real Author were a real *Drapier* or no, is little to the Purpose) against this horrid Design of Mr. *Wood*; at the same Time carefully watching every Stroke of my Pen, and venturing only to incur the publick Censure of the World as a Writer, not of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed* as a Criminal. Whenever an Order shall come out by Authority, forbidding all Men upon the highest Penalties to offer any thing in Writing or Discourse against Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence; I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last Man in the Kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: For

although I know how to be silent ; I have not yet learned to pay active Obedience against my Conscience, and the publick Safety.

I desire to put a Case, which I think the *Drapier*, in some of his Books, hath put before me ; although not so fully as it requires.

You know the Copper Half-pence in *England* are coined by the Publick ; and every Piece worth pretty near the Value of the Copper. Now, suppose, that, instead of the publick Coinage, a Patent had been granted to some private, obscure Person, for coining a proportionable Quantity of Copper in that Kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in This ; and all of it at least five Times below the intrinsick Value : The current Money of *England* is reckoned to be Twenty Millions ; and ours under * Five Hundred Thousand Pounds : By this Computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath Power to give us 108,000 Pounds ; so the Patentee in *England*, by the same Proportion, might circulate Four Millions Three Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds ; besides as much more by Stealth and Counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the Parliament might not have addressed upon such an Occasion ; what Success they probably would have had ; and how many *Drapiers* would have risen to pester the World with Pamphlets : Yet that Kingdom would not be so great a Sufferer as ours in the like Case ; because their Cash would not be conveyed into foreign Countries, but lie hid in the Chests of

* It is since sunk to 200,000 l.

cautious,

cautious, thrifty Men, until better Times. Then I desire, for the Satisfaction of the Publick, that you will please to inform me why this Country is treated in so very different a Manner, in a Point of such high Importance ; whether it be on Account of *Poining's Act* ; of Subordination ; Dependence ; or any other Term of Art ; which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill Success of Mr. *Wood*, will affect you less than any Person of Consequence in the Kingdom ; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your Purchases in *England* ; and truly so would I, if I had Money, although I were to pay a Hundred Years Purchase ; because I should be glad to possess a Freehold that could not be taken from me by any Law to which I did not give my own Consent : and where I should never be in Danger of receiving my Rents in mixt Copper, at the Loss of Sixteen Shillings in the Pound. You can live, in Ease and Plenty at *Pepper-hara* in *Surrey* ; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and publick-spirited in you to be of the Kingdom's Side in this Dispute, by shewing without Reserve, your Disapprobation of Mr. *Wood's* Design ; at least, if you have been so frank to others as you were to me ; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other Points ; and therefore I could get but few Believers, when I attempted to justify you in this Article from your own Words.

I would humbly offer another Thought, which

which I do not remember to have fallen under the *Drapier's* Observation. If these Half-pence should once gain Admittance, it is agreed, that in no long Space of Time, what by the clandestine Practices of the Coiner, what by his own Counterfeits, and those of others; either from Abroad or At home, his limited Quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a Grain of Gold or Silver visible in the Nation. This, in my Opinion, would lay a heavy Charge upon the Crown, by creating a Necessity of transmitting Money from *England* to pay the Salaries at least of the principal Civil Officers: For I do not conceive how a Judge (for Instance) could support his Dignity with a thousand Pounds a Year in *Wood's* Coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near Two Hundred. To argue that these Half-pence, if no other Coin were current, would answer the general Ends of Commerce among ourselves, is a great Mistake, and the *Drapier* hath made that Matter too clear to admit an Answer; by shewing us what every Owner of Land must be forced to do with the Products of it in such a Distress. You may read his Remarks at large in his second or third Letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several Months past, there have more Papers been written in this Town, such as they are, all upon the best publick Principle, the Love of our Country, than perhaps hath been known in any other Nation, in so short a Time: I speak in general, from the *Drapier*, down to the

the Maker of *Ballads*; and all without any Regard to the common Motives of Writers; which are Profit, Favour, and Reputation. As to Profit, I am assured by Persons of Credit; that the best Ballad upon Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a Groat to the Author; and the unfortunate Adventurer *Harding*, declares he never made the *Drapier* any Present, except one Pair of Scissars. As to Favour, whoever thinks to make his Court by opposing Mr. *Wood*, is not very deep in Politicks. And as to Reputation, certainly no Man of Worth and Learning, would employ his Pen upon so transitory a Subject, and in so obscure a Corner of the World, to distinguish himself as an Author. So that I look upon myself, the *Drapier*, and my numerous Brethren, to be all true Patriots in our several Degrees.

All that the Publick can expect for the future, is only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence; and to be referred for Conviction to the *Drapier*'s Reasons. For, a Man of the most superior Understanding will find it impossible to make the best Use of it, while he writes in Constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out Expressions, for fear of bringing his Printer, or himself, under a Prosecution from my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*. It calls to my Remembrance the Madman in *Don Quixote*, who, being soundly beaten by a Weaver for letting a Stone (which he always carried on his Shoulder) fall upon

upon a Spaniel, apprehended that every Cup he met was of the same Species.

For these Reasons, I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes in the least, to preserve that Union among us for opposing this fatal Project of Mr. *Wood*, my Pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these Papers to an eminent Lawyer (and yet a Man of Virtue and Learning into the Bargain) who after many Alterations returned them back, with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the least Mixture of Treason, Rebellion, Sedition, Malice, Disaffection, Reflection, or wicked Insinuation whatsoever.

If the *Bell-man* of each Parish, as he goes his Circuit, would cry out, every Night, *Past Twelve a Clock; Beware of Wood's Half-pence*; it would probably cut off the Occasion for publishing any more Pamphlets; provided that in Country Towns it were done upon Market-Days. - For my own Part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against Law, I will begin the Experiment in the Liberty of *St. Patrick's*; and hope my Example may be followed in the whole City. But if Authority shall think fit to forbid all Writings, or Discourses upon this Subject, except such as are in Favcur of Mr. *Wood*, I will obey as it becomes me; only when I am in Danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among

among the Reeds, not any Reflection upon the Wisdom of my Countrymen; but only these few Words, *BEWARE OF WOOD's HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due Respect,

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

Deanry House,
Oct. 26, 1724.

J. S.



A N

AN HUMBLE
 ADDRESS
 TO BOTH
 HOUSES of PARLIAMENT,

By M. B. Drapier.

Written before the Lord CARTERET came over, and soon after the DRAPIER's fourth Letter.

*Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
 Victoris. —*

I HAVE been told, that *Petitions* and *Addresses*, either to King or Parliament, are the Right of every Subject; provided they consist with that Respect, which is due to Princes and great Assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest *Proposals*, or *Opinions* of private Men, have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the Style of *Advice*; which is a

Presumption far from my Thoughts. However, if *Proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope, every Man may be suffered to declare his own and the Nation's *Wishes*. For Instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further Laws were enacted for the Advancement of *Trade*, for the Improvement of *Agriculture*, now strangely neglected, against the Maxim of all wise Nations: For supplying the manifest Defects in the Acts concerning the Plantation of Trees: For setting the Poor to work; and many others.

Upon this Principle, I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty *Wish* of the whole Nation, very few excepted, that the Parliament in this Session would begin by strictly examining into the detestable Fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, Hardware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appears by your own Votes and Addresses, procured a Patent in *England*, for coining Half-pence in that Kingdom, to be current here. This, I say, is the *Wish* of the whole Nation, *very few excepted*; and upon Account of those *few*, is more strongly and justly the *Wish* of the rest: Those *few* consisting either of *Wood's Confederates*, some obscure Tradesmen, or certain bold **UNDERTAKERS** of weak Judgment, and strong Ambition; who think to find their Accounts in the Ruin of the Nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And, because such Men proceed upon a System of *Politicks*, to which I would fain hope you will be

be always utter Strangers ; I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a Station of Fifteen hundred Pounds a Year, Salary and Perquisites ; and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a Year, real Estate. Then suppose a destructive Project to be on Foot ; such, for Instance, as this of *Wood* ; which, if it succeed, in all the Consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the Rents and Wealth of the Kingdom one Half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five Sixths.) Suppose, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this Project, will *please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted.* Nothing then remains, but to compute and ballance my Gain and my Loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my Employment ten Years, not to mention the fair Chance of a better. This, at 1500*l.* a Year, amounts in ten Years, to 15000*l.* My Estate, by the Success of the said Project, sinks 400*l.* a Year ; which at Twenty Years Purchase, is but 8000*l.* so that I am a clear Gainer of 7000*l.* upon the Ballance. And during all that Period, I am possessed of *Power* and *Credit*, can gratify my *Favourites*, and take *Vengeance* on my *Enemies*. And if the Project miscarry, my private *Merit* is still entire. This *Arithmetick*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practised, and applied in *Conjunctures*, whereon depended the *Ruin* or *Safety* of a Nation : Al-

though, probably the Charity and Virtue of a *Senate* will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such Monsters among Mankind. And yet, the wise *Lord Bacon* mentions a Sort of People, (I doubt the Race is not yet extinct) who would *set a House on Fire*, for the Convenience of roasting their Eggs at the Flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his Thoughts to observe the Course of publick Affairs in this Kingdom, from the Time of the *Revolution*; must acknowledge that the highest Points of Interest and Liberty, have been often sacrificed to the Avarice and Ambition of particular Persons, upon the very Principles and *Arithmetick* that I have supposed: The only wonder is, how these *Artists* were able to prevail upon Numbers; and influence even publick Assemblies to become Instruments for effecting their execrable Designs.

It is, I think, in all Conscience, *Latitude* enough for *Vice*, if a Man of *Station* be allowed to act Injustice upon the *usual Principles* of getting a *Bribe*, *wreaking his Malice*, *serving his Party*, or *consulting his Preserment*; while his Wickedness terminates in the Ruin only of *particular Persons*. But to deliver up our *whole Country*, and every living Soul who inhabits it, to *certain Destruction*, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *Casuists* on the Side of *Corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Kingdom, should be

be rendered incapable of holding *any* Employment whatsoever, above the Degree of a *Constable*, (according to the Scheme and Intention of a † *great Minister gone to his own Place*) than to live under the daily Apprehension of a few *false Brethren* among ourselves. Because, in the former Case we should be wholly free from the Danger of being betrayed ; since none could *then* have Impudence enough to pretend any publick Good.

It is true, that in this desperate Affair of the new *Half-pence*, I have not heard of any Man above my own Degree of a Shop-keeper, to have been hitherto so bold, as, in *direct Terms*, to vindicate the fatal Project ; although I have been told of some very *mollifying Expressions* which were used, and very *gentle Expedients* proposed and handed about, when it first came under Debate : But, since the Eyes of the People have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own Ruin, in the Success of *Wood's Attempt* ; these **GRAND COMPOUNDERS** have been more cautious.

But that the same Spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other Instances of great Compliance) from *certain Circumstances*, that have attended some *late Proceedings* * in a *Court of Judicature*. There is not any Comman-Place more frequently insisted on, by those

† *The late Earl of Sunderland.*

* *By Chief Justice Whithed.*

who treat of our Constitution, than the great Happiness and Excellency of Trials by *Juries*; yet if this blessed Part of our Law be eludible at Pleasure, by the Force of *Power, Frowns, and Artifice*, we shall have little Reason to boast of our Advantage, in this Particular, over other States or Kingdoms in *Europe*. And surely, these *high Proceedings*, exercised in a Point that so nearly concerned the *Life-Blood* of the People, their *necessary Subsistence*, their very *Food and Raiment*, and even the *publick Peace*, will not allow any favourable *Appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *superabundant Zeal* could have no other Design, or produce any other Effect, than to *damp* that *Spirit* raised in the Nation against this accursed Scheme of *William Wood* and his *Abettors*; to which *Spirit* alone, we owe, and for ever must owe, our being *hitherto preserved*, and our Hopes of being preserved for the future; if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by *Your wise Assemblies*. I wish I could account for such a Demeanor upon a more *charitable Foundation*, than that of putting our Interest in over-ballance with the *Ruin* of our Country.

I remember some Months ago, when this Affair was fresh in Discourse; a Person nearly allied to *SOMEBODY*, or (as the Hawkers called *Him*) *NOBODY*, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his Acquaintance, to shew the bad Consequences that might follow from any *publick*

lick Resentment to the Disadvantage of his *Ally*, Mr. *Wood*; principally alledging the Danger of all Employments being dispoſed of from *England*. One of these *Emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *Topick*: I answered, naturally, that I knew there was no Office of *any Kind*; which a Man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the Disadvantage of being born here, as only in the Condition of *Leavers* and *Gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known Fable of the Countryman, who entreated his *Ass* to fly for fear of being taken by the *Enemy*; but the *Ass* refused to give himself that Trouble; and upon a very wise Reason; because he could not possibly change his present Master for a *worse*: The *Enemy* could not make him *fare harder*; *beat him more cruelly*; nor load him with *heavier Burthens*.

Upon these, and many other Considerations, I may affirm it to be the *Wish* of the whole Nation, that the Power and Privileges of *Juries* were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the Legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by publick *Censure*; not from any Hope that such a *Censure* will amend their *Practices*, or hurt their *Interest*, (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*:) but that the Nation may know their *Enemies* from their *Friends*.

I say

I say not this with any Regard or View to myself ; for I write in great Security ; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my Expence, further than by shewing their *Zeal to discover, prosecute and condemn me*, for endeavouring to do my Duty in serving my Country : And yet I am conscious to myself that I never had the least Intention to *reflect on his Majesty's Ministers*, nor on any other Person, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of *that Number*. However, some would have it, that I WENT TOO FAR ; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have GONE FURTHER, and I think I could not easily have FADED WORSE. And therefore I was no further affected with *their Proclamation*, and subsequent Proceedings, than a good Clergyman is with the *Sins of the People*. And as to the poor *Printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a **RIGHTEOUS** Tribunal.

As my Intention is only to lay before your great Assemblies the general Wishes of the Nation ; and as I have already declared it our principal *Wish* that your first Proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious Fraud of *William Wood* ; so I must add, as the universal Opinion, that all *Schemes of Commutation, Composition, and the like Expedients*, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the most pernicious Consequences to the Publick ; against the

the Dignity of a FREE Kingdom ; and prove an Encouragement to future *Adventures* in the same destructive Projects. For it is a Maxim, which no Man at present disputes, that even a *Connivance* to admit One Thousand Pounds in these HALF-PENCE, will produce, in Time, the same ruinous Effects, as if we openly consented to admit a Million. It were, therefore, infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave Things in the doubtful, melancholy State they are at present, (which, however, God forbid) and trust entirely to the general Aversion of our People against this Coin ; using all honest Endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that Aversion, than submit to apply those *Palliatives* which *weak, perfidious, or abject Politicians*, are upon all *Occasions*, and in all *Diseases*, so ready to *administer*.

In the small Compass of my Reading, (which however, hath been more extensive than is usual to Men of my inferior Calling) I have observed that *Grievances* have always preceded *Supplies*, and if ever *Grievances* had a Title to such a Pre-eminence, it must be this of *Wood* ; because it is not only the greatest *Grievance* that any Country could suffer, but a *Grievance* of such a Kind, that if it should take Effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *Supplies* at all ; except in *adulterate Copper* ; unless a Tax were laid for paying the Civil and Military Lists, and the *large* Pensions, with real Commodities instead of Money ; which, however, might be liable to some few Objections as well

as Difficulties: For altho' the *Common Soldiers* might be content with *Beef* and *Mutton*, and *Wool*, and *Malt*, and *Leather*; yet I am in some Doubt as to the *Generals*, the *Colonels*, the *numerous Pensioners*, the *Civil Officers*, and others, who all live in *England* upon *Irish Pay*, as well as those *few* who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one Particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former Papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the History of any Age or Country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost *Astonishment*.

After the unanimous Addresses to his Sacred Majesty, against this Patent of *Wood*, from both Houses of Parliament, which are the *Three Estates* of the Kingdom; and likewise an Address from the Privy Council, to whom, under the Chief Governors, the whole Administration is intrusted; the Matter is referred to a Committee of Council in *London*. *Wood*, and his Adherents, are heard on one Side; and a few *Volunteers*, without any Trust or Direction from hence, on the other. The Question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the Want of *Half-pence* in *Ireland*: Witnesses are called on the Behalf of *Wood* (of what Credit I have formerly shewn:) Upon the Issue the Patent is found good and legal; all His Majesty's Officers here (not excepting the *Military*)

tary) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual. The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, of the Privy Council, and of the City of *Dublin*, the Declarations of most Counties and Corporations through the Kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no Weight, Consequence, or Consideration whatsoever: And the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* *unsuited*, in default of Appearance; as if it were a private Cause between *John Dow*, Plaintiff, and *William Row*, Defendant.

With great Respect to those honourable Persons, the Committee of Council in *London*, I have not understood them to be our *Governors*, *Counsellors*, or *Judges*. Neither did our Case turn at all upon the Question, whether *Ireland* wanted *Half-pence*. For there is no doubt, but we do want both *Half-pence*, *Gold* and *Silver*: and we have *numberless* other *Wants*, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name; although they are peculiar to this Nation: to which no other is subject, whom *God* hath blessed with *Religion* and *Laws*, or any Degree of *Soil* and *Sunshine*: But for what *Demerits* on our Side, I am altogether in the Dark.

But, I do not remember, that our Want of *Half-pence* was either affirmed, or denied in any of our Addresses or Declarations, against those of *Wood*: We alledged the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his Patent, the *Baseness* of his Metal, and the *prodigious* Sum to be coined, which might be increased by *Stealth*,
from

from foreign Importation, and his own Counterfeits, as well as those at Home ; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little Gold and Silver, and all our poor Remainder of a very limited and *discouraged* Trade : We urged, that the Patent was passed without the least Reference hither ; and without mention of any *Security* given by *Wood*, to receive his own Half-pence upon Demand ; both which are, contrary to all former Proceedings in the like Cases. These, and many other Arguments we offered ; but still the Patent went on, and at this Day our Ruin would have been half compleated ; if God, in his Mercy, had not raised an universal Detestation of these Half-pence, in the whole Kingdom ; with a firm Resolution never to receive them, since we are not under Obligations to do so, by any *Law*, either *Human* or *Divine*.

But, in the Name of *God*, and of all *Justice* and *Piety*, when the King's Majesty was pleased that this Patent should pass ; is it not to be understood, that he *conceived*, *believed*, and *intended* it as a gracious Act, for the Good and Benefit of his Subjects, for the Advantage of a great and fruitful Kingdom ; of the most *loyal* Kingdom upon Earth, where no *Hand* or *Voice* was ever lifted up against him ; a Kingdom where the Passage is not of three Hours from *Britain*, and a Kingdom where *Papists* have less *Power*, and less *Land* than in *England*? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majesty's Ministers understood and proposed

posed the same End, *the Good of this Nation*, when they advised the passing this Patent? Can the *Person of Wood* be otherwise regarded, than as the *Instrument*, the *Mechanick*, the *Head-workman*, to prepare his Furnace, his Fuel, his Metal, and his Stamps? If I employ a *Shoe-boy*, it is in view to his Advantage, or to my own Convenience? I mention the *Person of William Wood* alone; because no other appears, and we are not to reason upon *Surmises*; neither would it avail, if they had a real Foundation.

Allowing therefore (for we cannot do less) that this Patent, for the coining of Half-pence, was wholly intended, by a gracious King and a wise, publick-spirited Ministry, for the Advantage of *Ireland*; yet when the whole Kingdom to a Man, for whose Good the Patent was designed, do, upon maturest Consideration, universally join, in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these Half-pence, as the most ruinous Project that ever was set on Foot to compleat the Slavery and Destruction of a poor innocent Country: *Is it, was it, can it, or will it ever be a Question*, not whether such a Kingdom, or *William Wood*, should be a Gainer; but whether such a Kingdom should be wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated, made a Scene of Misery and Desolation, for the Sake of *William Wood*? God, of his infinite Mercy, avert this dreadful Judgment; and it is our universal Wish, that God

would put it into *your* Hearts to be his Instruments for so good a Work.

For my own Part, who am but *one* Man, of obscure Condition, I do solemnly declare in the Presence of Almighty GOD, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing Death, rather than submit to receive this *accursed Coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same Objections, until they shall be forced upon me, by a Law of *my own Country*; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some *foreign Land*, and eat the *Bread of Poverty* among a *free People*.

Am I legally punishable for these Expressions? Shall *another Proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my Country's Part against *William Wood*, where her final Destruction is intended; But, whenever You shall please to impose *Silence* upon me, I will submit; because, I look upon your *unanimous Voice* to be the *Voice of the Nation*; and this I have been taught, and do believe to be, in some Manner, the *Voice of God*.

The great Ignominy of a whole Kingdom, lying so long at *Mercy*, under so *vile* an Adversary, is such a deplorable Aggravation, that the utmost Expressions of Shame and Rage, are too low to set it forth: And therefore, I shall leave it to receive such a Resentment, as is worthy of a *Parliament*.

It is likewise our universal *Wish*, that his Majesty would grant Liberty to coin Half-pence

pence in this Kingdom, for our own Use, under such Restriction as a Parliament here shall advise: Since the Power of coining even Gold and Silver, is possessed by every *petty* Prince abroad; and was always practised by *Scotland*, to the very Time of the *Union*; yet surely *Scotland*, as to Soil, Climate, and Extent, is not, in itself, a fourth Part the Value of *Ireland*; (for Bishop *Burnet* says, it is not above a fortieth Part in Value to the rest of *Britain*) and with respect to the Profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty Thousandth Part. Although I must confess, that a *Mote in the Eye, or a Thorn in the Side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *Beam, or a Spike at a Distance*.

The Histories of *England*, and of most other Countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical Effects, from the Abuses of *Coin*; by debasing the Metal, by lessening or enhancing the Value upon *Occasions*, to the publick Loss; of which we have an Example, within our own Memory, in *England*, and another very lately in *France*. It is the *tendereſt* Point of Government, affecting every Individual, in the highest Degree. When the Value of Money is *arbitrary*, or *unsettled*, no Man can well be said to have any *Property* at all; nor is any Wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting Scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy Island to have a Title to some *Indulgence* from *England*;

not only upon the Score of *Christianity, natural Equity, and the general Rights of Mankind*; but chiefly on Account of that *immense Profit* they receive from us; without which, that Kingdom would make a very *different Figure* in *Europe*, from what it doth at present.

The Rents of *Land* in *Ireland*, since they have been *of late* so enormously raised, and screwed up, may be computed to about two Millions; whereof one third Part, at least, is directly transmitted to those who are *perpetual Absentees* in *England*; as I find by a Computation made with the Assistance of several skilful Gentlemen.

The other Articles, by which we are altogether *Losers*, and *England* a *Gainer*; we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many Heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the Consideration of those, who understand Accounts, better than I pretend to do.

The *Occasional Absentees*, for *Business, Health, or Diversion*.

Three Fourths of the Revenue of the chief Governor, during his Absence; which is usually four Fifths of his Government.

The whole Revenue of the *Post-Office*.

The numerous *Pensions* paid to Persons in *England*.

The Pay of the chief Officers in the Army absent in *England*, which is a great Sum.

Four Commissioners of the Revenue, always absent.

Civil Employments very numerous, and of great Income.

The vast Charge of Appeals to the House of Lords, and to the Court of Delegates.

Students at the Inns of Court, and the two Universities.

Eighty Thousand Pounds sent yearly to *England*, for Coals; whereof the prime Cost is nothing; and therefore the Profit wholly theirs.

One Hundred Thousand Pounds paid several Years past, for Corn sent over hither from *England*; the Effect of our own great *Wisdom* in discouraging *Agriculture*.

The kind Liberty granted us of wearing *Indian* Stuffs, and *Callicoes*, to gratify the Vanity and Folly of our Women; which, besides the Profit to *England*, is an inconceivable Loss to us; forcing the Weavers to beg in our Streets, or transport themselves to foreign Countries.

The prodigious Loss to us, and Gain to *England*, by selling them *all* our *Wool* at their own Rates; whereof the Manufacture exceeds above ten Times the prime Cost: *A Proceeding without Example in the Christian or Heathen World.*

Our own *Wool* returned upon us in *English* Manufactures, to our infinite Shame and Damage; and the great Advantage of *England*.

The full Profit of all our *Mines* accruing to *England*; an Effect of great Negligence and Stupidity.

These, and many other Articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious Men to amount to near seven Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* clear Profit to *England*. And, upon the whole, let any Man look into those Authors who write upon the Subject of *Commerce*, he shall find, that there is not one single Article in the Essentials, or Circumstances of Trade, whereby a Country can be a *Loser*, which we do not possess in the *highest Perfection*; somewhat in every Particular, that bears a Kind of *Analogy* to *William Wood*; and now the Branches are all cut off, he stands ready with his *Ax* at the *Root*.

Upon this Subject of *perpetual Absentees*, I have spent some Time in very insignificant Reflections; and, considering the usual Motives of human Actions, which are *Pleasure*, *Profit*, and *Ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those Persons find their Account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those *English Peers* or Gentlemen, who, besides their Estates at home, have Possessions here; for, in that Case, the Matter is desperate; but I mean those Lords, and wealthy Knights, or Squires,

* Note, Many of the above Articles have been since particularly computed by another Writer, to whose Treatise the Reader is referred.

whose

whose Birth, and partly their Education, and *all* their Fortune (except some Trifle, and that in a very few Instances) are in this Kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during several Years, when I resided in *England*; and truly I could not discover that the *Figure* they made was, by any Means, a Subject of *Envy*; at least it gave me *two very different Passions*. For, excepting the Advantage of going now and then to an *Opera*; or sometimes appearing *behind a Croud at Court*; or adding to the Ring of *Coaches* in *Hide-Park*; or losing their Money at the *Chocolate-House*; or getting News, Votes, and Minutes, about five Days before us in *Dublin*; I say, besides these, and a few other Privileges of *less* Importance, their Temptations to live in *London*, were beyond my Knowledge or Conception. And I used to wonder, how a Man of Birth and Spirit, could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign Country*, when he might live with *Lustre* in *his own*; and even at *less* than half that Expence, which he *strains* himself to make, without obtaining any *one* End; except that which happened to the *Frog*, when he would needs contend for Size with the *Ox*. I have been told by Scholars, that *Caesar* said he would rather be the *first* Man, in I know not what Village, than the *second in Rome*. This, perhaps, was a Thought only fit for *Caesar*: But to be *preceded* by *Thousands*, and *neglected* by *Millions*; to be wholly

wholly without *Power, Figure, Influence, Honour, Credit, or Distinction*, is not, in my poor Opinion, a very amiable Situation of Life, to a Person of *Title, or Wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *slip* in his native Country.

But, besides the depopulating of the Kingdom, the leaving so many Parts of it wild and uncultivated, the Ruin of so many Country Seats and Plantations, the cutting down all the Woods to supply Expences in *England*; the Absence of so many noble and wealthy Persons, hath been the Cause of another fatal Consequence, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very considerable* Number of Lords, who possess the amplest Fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the Affairs of their own Country in *Parliament*; the Weight, Reputation, and Dignity thereby added to that noble House, would, in all human Probability, have prevented *certain Proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*; because they *never can be remedied*: And we might have then *decided our own Properties among ourselves*, without being forced to travel five Hundred Miles by Sea and Land to *another Kingdom*, for Justice; to our infinite Expence, Vexation, and Trouble; which is a Mark of *Servitude* without Example from the Practice of any Age or Nation in the World.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what Motive the Peerage of *England* were so desirous to deter-

determine our Controversies ; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent *Appeals* from hence have been very *irksome* to that illustrious Body : and whoever hath frequented the *Painted Chamber*, and *Court of Requests*, must have observed, that they are never so nobly filled, as when an *Irish Appeal* is under Debate,

The Peers of *Scotland*, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their Castles and Houses, in that *bleak and barren Climate* ; and although some of them made frequent Journeys to *London*, yet I do not remember any of their greatest Families, till very lately, to have made *England* their constant Habitation, before the *Union* : Or, if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own Advantage* ; and whatever they got was employed to cultivate and increase their own Estates ; and by that Means enrich themselves and their Country.

As to the great Number of rich *Absentees* under the Degree of *Peers* ; what particular ill Effects their Absence may have upon this Kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a Point for me to touch. But whether those who live in another Kingdom, upon great Estates here ; and have lost all Regard to their own Country, further than upon account of *Revenues they receive from it* ; I say, whether such Persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant Seats*, who have no Interest here, except a precarious

carious Employment ; and consequently can have no Views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced : This, I am sure, is a very melancholy Question, if it be a Question at all.

But, besides the prodigious Profit which *England* receives by the Transmittal thither of two Thirds of the Revenues of this whole Kingdom ; it hath another mighty Advantage, by making our Country a *Receptacle*, wherein to *disburthen* themselves of their *supernumerary* Pretenders to Offices, Persons of second-rate Merit in their own Country ; who, *like Birds of Passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *Credit* and *Employments* are at an End. So that *Ireland* may justly say what *Luther* said of himself, *POCR Ireland maketh many rich.*

If amidst all our Difficulties, I should venture to assert, that we have one great Advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought ; I believe most of my Readers would be long in conjecturing what *possible* Advantage could ever fall to our Share: However it is certain that all the *Regular Seeds* of *Party* and *Faction* among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* Generation, without any Seed at all ; and will justly be imputed to a Degree of Stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the Score of our *Birthplace* and *Climate*.

The

The Parties in this Kingdom (including those of modern Date) are, First, of those who have been charged or suspected to favour the Pretender ; and those, who were zealous *Opposers* of him. Secondly, of those, who were *for and against* a *Toleration* of *Dissenters by Law*. Thirdly, of *High and Low Church* ; or, (to speak in the *Cant* of the Times) of *Whig* and *Tory* : And Fourthly, of *Court* and *Country*. If there be any more, they are beyond my Observation or Politicks : For as to *subaltern* or *occasional Parties*, they have all been *Derivations* from the same *Originals*.

Now, it is manifest, that all these Incitements to *Faction*, *Party*, and *Division*, are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the *Pretender*, his Cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete* : There are very few now alive who were *Men* in his Father's Time, and in that Prince's Interest ; and in all others, the Obligation of Conscience hath no Place : Even the *Papists* in general, of any Substance, or Estates, and their *Priests* almost universally, are what we call *Whigs*, in the Sense which by that Word is generally understood. They feel the *Smart*, and see the *Scars* of their former *Wounds* ; and very well know that they must be made a *Sacrifice* to the least Attempts towards a *Change* ; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *Superstition* restored, under any Prince whatsoever.

Secondly, The *Dissenters* are now *tolerated by Law* ; neither do we observe any *Murmurs* at

at present from that Quarter, except those *reasonable* Complaints they make of *Persecution*, because they are excluded from Civil Employments ; but their Number being very small in either *House* of Parliament, they are not yet in a Situation to erect a *Party* : Because, however indifferent Men may be with regard to *Religion*, they are *now* grown wise enough to know, that if such a *Latitude* were allowed to *Dissenters*, the few small Employments left us in Cities and Corporations, would find *other Hands* to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, The Dispute between *High* and *Low Church* is now at an End ; two thirds of the *Bishops* having been promoted in *this Reign*, and most of them from *England*, who have bestowed *all* Preferments in their Gift to those they could well *confide in* : The *Deanries* all, except Three, and many principal Church *Livings*, are in the *Donation of the Crown* : So that we already possess *such a Body of Clergy* as will never engage in Controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* Subject.

Lastly, As to *Court* and *Country Parties*, so famous and avowed under most Reigns in *English Parliaments*: This Kingdom hath not, for several Years past, been a proper Scene whereon to exercise such Contentions ; and is now less proper than ever ; many great Employments for Life being in *distant Hands*, and the *Reversions* *diligently watched and secured* ; the temporary Ones of any *inviting Value* are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast as they drop, and

the few remaining, are of too low Consideration to create Contests about them, except among younger Brothers, or Tradesmen like myself. And, therefore, to institute a *Court* and *Country Party* without *Materials*, would be a very new System in Politicks, and what I believe was never thought on before ; nor, unless in a *Nation of Ideots*, can ever succeed. For the most ignorant *Irish Cottager* will not *sell his Cow for a Groat*.

Therefore, I conclude, that all *Party* and *Faction*, with regard to Publick Proceedings, are now extinguished in this Kingdom, * neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly *revive* ; unless some new Causes be administered ; which cannot be done without *crossing the Interests of those who are the greatest Gainers by continuing the same Measures*. And general Calamities *without Hope of Redress*, are allowed to be the great *Uniters of Mankind*.

However we may dislike the *Causes*, yet this *Effect* of begetting an universal Concord among us in all *National Debates*, as well as in *Cities, Corporations, and Country Neighbourhoods*, may keep us at least alive, and in a Condition to eat the little Bread allowed us,

* Note, Since this Discourse was written, it hath appeared by Experience, that the Author was much mistaken in his Conjectures.

in *Peace and Amity*. I have heard of a Quarrel in a Tavern, where all were at Daggers-drawing, till one of the Company cried out, desiring to know the *Subject of the Quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their Swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the Evening in *Quiet*. The *former Part* hath been our *Cafe*, I hope the *latter* will be so too, that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *Something* that may give us a *Title* to fall out; since Nature hath instructed even a *Brood of Goslings* to *stick together* while the *Kite* is hovering over their Heads.

It is certain, that a firm *Union* in any Country, where every Man wishes the same Thing with relation to the *Publick*, may, in several Points of the greatest Importance, in some Measure supply the *Defect of Power*; and even of those *Rights* which are the *natural and undoubted Inheritance of Mankind*. If the universal *Wish* of the Nation upon any Point were declared by the *unanimous Vote* of the *House of Commons*, and a reasonable Number of *Lords*; I should think myself obliged in *Conscience* to act in my *Sphere* according to that *Vote*, because in all free Nations, I take the proper Definition of *Law* to be the *Will of the Majority of those who have the Property in Land*; which, if there be a *Monarchy*, is to be confirmed by the *Royal Assent*. And, although such *Votes* or *Declarations* have not received such a *Confirmation*, for certain *accidental*

dental Reasons; yet I think they ought to be of much Weight with the *Subject*, provided they neither oppose the King's Prerogative, endanger the Peace of the Nation, nor infringe any Law already in Force; none of which however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for Instance, if Nine in Ten of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of native temporal Peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *Brass Coin*, except under certain Limitations and Securities, should be deemed as *Enemies to the King and the Nation*; I should think it a heinous Sin in myself to act contrary to such a Vote; And, if the same Power should declare the same *Censure* against those who wore *Indian Stuffs* and *Callicees*, or *Woollen Manufactures imported from Abroad*, whereby this Nation is reduced to the lowest Ebb of Misery; I should readily, heartily, chearfully pay Obedience; and to my utmost Power persuade others to do the like: Because, there is no *Law* of this Land obliging us either to receive such *Coin*, or to wear such foreign Manufactures.

* Upon this last Article, I could humbly wish that the Reverend the *Clergy* would set us an Example, by contenting themselves with wearing Gowns and other Habiliments of *Irish*

* Note, This hath since been put in Practice, by the Persuasions and Influence of the suppos'd Author; but much defeated by the most injamous Fraud of Slopkeepers.

Drapery ; which as it would be some Incitement to the *Laity*, and set many Hands to work, so they would find their Advantage in the *Cheapness*, which is a Circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable Body. † And, in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious Artists of the Weaving Trade would contrive some decent Stuffs and Silks for *Clergymen*, at reasonable Rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial Brethren, that the whole Corporation of *Weavers* in Silk and Woollen would publish some *Proposals* (I wish they would do it to both Houses of Parliament) inviting Persons of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, to wear the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of our own Country ; entering into solemn, mutual Engagements, that the Buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable Ware for his Money ; and at a certain Rate, without the Trouble of cheapning. So that, if I sent a Child for a Piece of Stuff of a particular Colour and Fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived ; or, if I had Reason to complain, the Corporation should give me immediate Satisfaction ; and the Name of the Tradesman who did me the Wrong, should be published ; and Warning given not

† This Scheme was likewise often urged to the Weavers by the supposed Author ; but he could never prevail on them to put it in Practice.

to deal with him for the future; unless the Matter plainly appeared to be a Mistake: For, beside the Trouble of going from Shop to Shop, an ignorant Customer runs the Hazard of being cheated in the Price and Goodness of what he buys; being forced to an unequal Combat with a dextrous and dishonest Man, in his own Calling. Thus our Goods fall under a general Disreputation; and the Gentry call for *English Cloth*, or *Silk*, from an Opinion they have (and often too justly by our own Faults) that the *Goodness* often more than makes up for the Difference of Price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous Practice of us Tradesmen, upon any great Demand of Goods, either at Home or from Abroad, to raise the Prices immediately, and manufacture the said Goods more slightly, and fraudulently than before.

Of this foul and foolish Proceeding too many Instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one, whereby this poor Kingdom hath received such a fatal Blow in the only *Article of Trade*, allowed us, of any Importance, that nothing but the Success of *Woods* Project could outdo it. During the late Plague in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who buy their Linen Cloths in that Kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of Infection, a very great Demand was made here for that Commodity, and exported to *Spain*: But, whether by the Ignorance of the Merchants, or Dishonesty of the *Northern Weavers*, or the

Collusion of both, the Ware was so bad, and the Price so excessive, that, except some small Quantity, which was sold below the prime Cost, the greatest Part was returned: And I have been told by very intelligent Persons, that if we had been fair Dealers, the whole Current of the Linen Trade to *Spain* would have taken its Course from hence.

If any Punishment were to be inflicted on *Numbers of Men*; surely there could none be thought too great for such a Race of *Traytors*, and *Enemies to God*, and their Country; who, for the Prospect of a little *present Gain*, do not only ruin themselves, (for that alone would be an *Example* to the rest, and a *Blessing* to the Nation) but sell their Souls to Hell, and their Country to Destruction. And, if the *Plague* could have been confined only to those who were *Partakers in the Guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marseilles*, those Wretches would have died with less Title to *Pity*, than a *High-wayman* going to the Gallows.

But, it happens very *unluckily*, that, for *some Time past*, all Endeavours or Proposals from private Persons, to advance the publick Service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called **FLYING IN THE KING's FACE**: And this, to my Knowledge, hath been the Style of *some Persons*, whose *Ancestors* (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves* have been *flying in Princes Faces* these Fourscore Years; and from their own Inclinations would do so still, if their Interest did

did not lead them rather to *fly in the Face* of a Kingdom which hath given them *Wings* to enable them for such a *Flight*.

Thus, about four Years ago, when a * Discourse was published, endeavouring to persuade our People to wear their own Woollen Manufactures, full of the most dutiful Expressions to the King, and without the least *Party Hint*; it was termed *flying in the King's Face*; the *Printer* was prosecuted in the Manner we all remember; (and, I hope, it will somewhere be remembered further) the *Jury* kept eleven Hours, and sent back nine Times, till they were under the Necessity of leaving the Prisoner to the Mercy of the Court, by a *special Verdict*. The † *Judge* on the Bench invoking *God for his Witness*, when he asserted, that the Author's Design was to bring in the *Pretender*.

And thus also, my own poor Endeavours to prevent the Ruin of my Country, by the Admission of *Wood's Coin*, were called by the same Persons, *flying in the King's Face*; which I directly deny: For I cannot allow that *wile Representation* of the Royal *Countenance*, in *William Wood's adulterate Copper*, to be his *sacred Majesty's Face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *Impression*, but the *Baseness*

* The Author here means a preceding Discourse, intituled, A Proposal for the universal Use of *Irish Manufactures*.

† *Judge Whitshead.*

of the *Metal* ; because I well remembered, that the *Image* which *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded to be set up for all *Men* to fall down and worship, was not of **COPPER**, but pure **GOLD**. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few *Royal Images* of that *Metal* among us ; the Sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our Veneration for His Majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the Mixture of *Comfort* and *Satisfaction*.

ALEXANDER the Great would suffer no *Statuary*, except *Phidias*, to carve his *Image* in *Stone* or *Metal*. How must he have treated such an *Operator* as *Wood*, who goes about with *Sackfulls of Dross* ; odiously misrepresenting his Prince's *Countenance* ; and would force them by *Thousands*, upon every one of us, at above *six Times the Value*.

But, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himself, together with his *Favourers*, *Abettors*, *Supporters*, either *publick* or *private* ; by those who *connive* at this Project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *Opposers*, for fear of lessening their *Favour*, or hazarding their *Employments* ; by those who endeavour to *damp* the *Spirit* of the *People* raised against this *Coin* ; or check the honest *Zeal* of such as by their *Writings*, or *Discourses*, do all they can to keep it up ; by those *Softners*, *Sweetners*, *Compounders*, and *Expedient-mongers*, who shake their *Heads* so strongly that we can hear their *Pockets jingle* ; I did never imagine, that in detecting the *Practices* of such *Enemies*

Enemies to the Kingdom, I was flying *in the King's Face*; or thought they were better *Representers* of His Majesty, than that very *Coin*, for which they are *secret* or *open* Advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those *Wishes* of the Nation, which may be in our Power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, That an End might be put to our *Apprehensions* of *Wood's Half-pence*, and to any Danger of the *like* destructive Scheme for the future.

Secondly, That Half-pence might be coined in this Kingdom, by a publick Mint, with due Limitations.

Thirdly, That the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, at least of the House of Commons, were declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty Votes*, against wearing any Silk or Woollen Manufactures, imported from Abroad; as likewise against wearing *Indian Silks* or *Callicoes*, which are forbidden under the highest Penalties in *England*: And it behoves us to take Example from so wise a Nation; because we are under a *greater Necessity* to do so, since we are not allowed to *export* any Woollen Manufactures of our own; which is the principal Branch of foreign Trade in *England*,

Fourthly, That some effectual Methods may be taken to civilize the poorer Sort of our Natives, in all those Parts of this Kingdom where the *Irish* abound, by introducing among them our Language and Customs; for want

of

of which they live in the utmost Ignorance, Barbarity, and Poverty: giving themselves wholly up to Idleness, Nastiness, and Thievery, to the very great and just Reproach of too many Landlords. And, if I had in me the least Spirit of a *Projector*, I would engage that this might be effected in a few Years, at a very inconsiderable Charge.

Fifthly, That due Encouragement should be given to *Agriculture*; and a Stop put to that pernicious Practice of Graziers engrossing vast Quantities of Land, sometimes at great Distance; whereby the Country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, That the Defects in those Acts for planting Forest Trees, might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the Demesnes of a few Gentlemen; and even there, in general, very unskillfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due Care taken to preserve what is planted, or to inclose Grounds; not one Hedge in a Hundred coming to Maturity for want of Skill and Industry. The Neglect of *cotising Woods* cut down, hath likewise been of very evil Consequences. And if Men were restrained from that unlimited Liberty of *cutting down their own Woods* before the proper Time, as they are in some other Countries, it would be a mighty Benefit to the Kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another Example in *Europe*, of such a prodigious Quantity of excellent Timber cut down, in so short

a Time, with so little Advantage to the Country, either in *Shipping* or *Building*.

I may add that absurd Practice of cutting *Turf*, without any Regularity; whereby great Quantities of restorable Land are made utterly desperate, many Thousands of Cattle destroyed, the *Turf* more difficult to come at, and carry home, and less fit for burning; the Air made unwholsome by stagnating Pools and Marshes; and the very Sight of such Places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious Custom be allowed, of cutting *Scraus* (as they call them) which is flaying off the green Surface of the Ground, to cover their Cabins, or make up their Ditches; sometimes in shallow Soils, where all is Gravel within a few Inches; and sometimes in low Ground, with a thin green Sward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into Bog, by this Mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful Countrymen, that by these two Practices in *Turf* and *Scraus*, the Kingdom loseth some Hundreds of Acres of profitable Land every Year; besides the irreparable Loss of many Skirts of Bogs, which have a green Coat of Grass, and yet are mangled for *Turf*, and, besides the Want of Canals, by regular Cutting, which would not only be a great Convenience for bringing their *Turf* home at an easy Rate, but likewise render even the larger Bogs more dry and safe for Summer Pasture.

These,

These, and some other Speculations of the like Kind, I had intended to publish in a particular Discourse, against this Session of Parliament; because, in some Periods of my Life, I had Opportunity and Curiosity to observe, from what Causes those great Errors, in every Branch of Country Management, have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few, out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving Offence; which I have endeavoured, by all possible Means, to avoid. And, for the same Reason, I chose to add here, the little I thought proper to say on this Subject.

But, as to the Lands of those who are *perpetual Absentees*, I do not see any Probability of their being ever improved. In former Times, their Tenants sat at easy Rents; but for some Years past, they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the Dexterity of *merciless Agents* from *England*, than even those who held under the severest Landlords here. I was assured upon the Place, by great Numbers of credible People, that a prodigious Estate in the County of *Cork*, being lett upon Leases for Lives, and great Fines paid, the Rent was so high, that the Tenants begged Leave to surrender their *Leases*, and were content to lose their *Fines*.

The cultivating and Improvement of Land, is certainly a Subject worthy of the highest Enquiry in any Country, but especially in ours; where

where we are so strangely limited in every Branch of Trade, that can be of Advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest Importance; whereof I defy the most learned Man in *Europe* to produce me an Example from any other Kingdom in the World: For, we are denied the *Benefits* which *God* and *Nature* intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy Situation for Commerce*, and the *great Number of our excellent Ports*. So that, I think, little is left us, besides the cultivating our own *Soil*, encouraging *Agriculture*, and making great *Plantations of Trees*, that we might not be under the Necessity of sending for *Corn* and *Bark* from *England*, and *Timber* from other Countries. This would increase the Number of our Inhabitants, and help to consume our natural Products, as well as Manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great Man in *England*: That few *Politicians*, with all their Schemes, are half so useful Members of a Common-wealth, as an *honest Farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increased the intrinsick Value of a Piece of Land; and thereby done a *perpetual Service* to his Country; which it is a great Controversy whether any of the *former* ever did, since the Creation of the World; but no Controversy at all, that Ninety-nine in a Hundred, have done Abundance of Mischief.

At the Time when the Coinage of Half-pence by William Wood made most Noise, several Papers of Humour and Ridicule ran about the Town and Kingdom, to expose that pernicious Project ; among others, that which follows ; and is supposed to be written by the Author of the Drapier's Letters : We have, therefore, ventured to reprint it in its proper Place.

A full and true Account of the solemn Proceſſion to the Gallows, at the Execution of William Wood, Esquire, and Hard-ware-man.

Written in the Year 1724.

SOME Time ago, upon a Report spread, that *William Wood*, Hard-ware-man, was concealed in his Brother-in-law's House here in *Dublin* ; a great Number of People, of different Conditions, and of both Sexes, crowded about the Door, determinately bent to take Revenge upon him, as a Coiner and Counterfeiter. Among the rest, a certain curious Person, standing in a Corner, observed that they all discovered their Resentments in the proper Terms and Expressions of their several Trades and Callings ;

Callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me, with Leave to publish them, for the Use of those who at any Time hereafter may be at a Loss for proper Words, wherein to express their good Dispositions towards the said *William Wood*.

The People cried out to have him delivered into their Hands.

Says the P--l--t Man. *Expel him the House.*

2d P--l--t Man. I second that *Motion.*

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2d Cook. I'll give him his *Belly-full.*

3d Cook. I'll give him a *Lick* in the *Chops.*

4th Cook. I'll *sowce* him.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can stand.

Bookseller. I'll turn over a *New Leaf* with him.

Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.

Glazier. I'll make the *Light* shine through him.

Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.

Groom. I'll *curry* his *Hide.*

Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.

2d Pothecary. I'll beat him to *Mummy.*

School-master. I'll make him an *Example.*

Rabbit-Catcher. I'll *ferret* him.

Pavior. I'll *thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *Rap.*

WHIG. *Down* with him.

TORY. Up with him.

Miller. I'll dash out his *Grinders*.

2d Miller. Dam him.

Boatman. Sink him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *Kennel*.

Dyer. I'll beat him *black and blue*.

Bagnio-man. I'll make the *House* too hot for him.

Whore. Pox rot him.

2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.

3d Whore. Clap him up.

Mustard-Maker. I'll have him by the *Nose*.

Curate. I'll make the *Devil* come out of him.

Popish-Priest. I'll send him to the Devil.

Dancing-Master. I'll teach him better *Manners*.

2d Dancing-Master. I'll make him cut a *Caper* three Story high.

Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.

Taylor. I'll sit on his *Skirts*.

2d Taylor. Hell is too good for him.

3d Taylor. I'll *pink* his *Doublet*.

4th Taylor. I'll make his A---make *Buttons*.

Basket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fidler. I'll have him by the *Ears*.

2d Fidler. I'll *bang* him to some *Tune*.

Barber. I'll have him by the *Beard*.

2d Barber. I'll pull his *Whiskers*.

3d Barber. I'll make his *Hair* stand on End.

4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *Locks*.

Tinker. I'll try what *Metal* he's made of.

Cohler. I'll make an *End* of him.

Tobacconist. I'll make him *Smoak*.

2d To-

2d Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *Pipes*.

Gold-finder. I'll make him *Stink*.

Hackney-Coachman. I'll make him know his *Driver*.

2d Hackney Coachman. I'll *drive* him to the Devil.

Butcher. I'll have a *Limb* of him.

2d Butcher. Let us *blow him up*.

3d Butcher. My *Knife* in him.

Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.

Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the *Rogue* in the *Pond*.

Ostler. I'll *rub him down*.

Shoemaker. Set him in the *Stocks*.

Banker. I'll *kick him to Half Crowns*.

2d Banker. I'll *pay him off*.

Bowler. I'll have a *Rubber* with him.

Gamester. I'll make his *Bones rattle*.

Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his *Sides*.

Gardener. I'll make him *water his Plants*.

Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.

Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *Horns*.

Old Woman, I'll *mumble* him.

Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But, at last, the People having received Assurances, that *William Wood* was neither in the House nor Kingdom, appointed certain Commissioners to hang him in Effigy; whereof the whole Ceremony and Procession deserve to be transmittted to Posterity.

First, the Way was cleared by a Detachment of the *Black-Guards*; with short Sticks in their Hands, and Cockades of Paper in their Hats,

Then appeared *William Wood* Esquire ; represented to the Life by an old Piece of carved Timber, taken from the Keel of a Ship. Upon his Face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper Distances, several Pieces of his own Coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his Calling, and his Crime. He wore on his Head a Peruke, very artfully compos'd of four old Mops ; a Halter about his Neck serv'd him for a Cravat. His Cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with Persons in his Condition (which some censorious People imputed to Affectation) for he was covered with a large Rugg of several Colours in Patch-work ; he was borne upon the Shoulders of an able-bodied Porter. In his March by *St. Stephen's-Green*, he often bowed on both Sides, to shew his Respects to the Company ; his Deportment was grave, and his Countenance, though somewhat penitive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his Father alone, in a long mourning Cloak, with his Hat over his Nose, and a Handkerchief in his Left Hand, to wipe the Tears from his Face.

Next in Order marched the Executioner *himself in Person* ; whose venerable Aspect drew the Eyes of the whole Assembly upon him ; but he was further distinguished by a Halter which he bore upon his Left Shoulder as the Badge of his Office.

Then followed two Persons Hand in Hand ; the one representing *William Wood's* * Brother-

* One Molyneux an Ironmonger.

in-Law ; the other a certain *Sadler*, his intimate Friend, whose Name I forget. Each had a small Kettle in his Hand, wherein was a reasonable Quantity of the new Half-pence. At proper Periods they shook their Kettles, which made a melancholy Sound, like the ringing of a Knell for their Partner and Confederate.

After these followed several Officers, whose Assistance was necessary for the more decent Performance of the great Work in Hand.

The Procession was closed with an innumerable Crowd of People, who frequently sent out loud *Huzza's* ; which were censured by wiser Heads as a Mark of Inhumanity, and an ungenerous Triumph over the Unfortunate ; without duly considering the various Vicissitudes of human Life. However as it becomes an impartial Historian, I will not conceal one Observation, That Mr. *Wood* himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least Alteration in his Countenance ; only when he came within Sight of the fatal Tree, which happened to be of the same Species of Timber with his own Person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the Place of Execution, he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a Tear. He made no Resistance, but submitted himself, with great Resignation, to the Hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much Roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him Pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in Letters

ters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true, genuine dying SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer Sex, who attended the Ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-timbered a Man should come to so untimely an End. He hung but a short Time; for upon feeling his Breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think how this melancholy Spectacle turned the Hearts of the People to Compassion. When he was cut down, the Body was carried through the whole City, to gather Contributions for his Wake; and all Sorts of People shewed their Liberality according as they were able. The Ceremony was performed in an Ale-house of Distinction, and in a Manner suitable to the Quality of the Deceased. While the Attendants were discoursing about his Funeral, a worthy Member of the Assembly stood up and proposed, that the Body should be carried out the next Day, and burned with the same Pomp and Formalities used at his Execution; which would prevent the Malice of his Enemies, and all Indignities that might be done to his Remains. This was agreed to; and about Nine o'Clock on the following Morning there appeared a Second Procession. But, burning not having been any Part of the Sentence, Authority thought fit to interpose, and the Corps was rescued by the Civil Power.

We hear the Body is not yet interred; which occasions many Speculations. But what

is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed by many who pretend to have been Eye-witnesses, that there does not appear the least Alteration in any one Lineament or Feature of his Countenance; nor visible Decay in his whole Frame, further than what had been made by Worms long before his Execution. The Solution of which Difficulty, I shall leave among Naturalists.



Some

Some CONSIDERATIONS on the At-
tempts to pass Mr. WOOD's
Brass Money in Ireland.

(By a Lover of his Country.)

IT is a melancholy Consideration, to see the several Resolutions and Addresses of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland, during their late Session, the late Address of his Majesty's Justices and Privy-Council of that Kingdom, and the Petition of the County of the City of Dublin; whereby the unanimous Sense of this Nation, and the great Apprehensions they were under, from importing and uttering Copper Half-pence and Farthings in Ireland, by Virtue of the Patent granted to William Wood, have been represented in the strongest Terms: I say, it is a melancholy Consideration, to see the Force of all these Representations, eluded by the Petitions of a single Person, such as Mr. Wood.

If Justice stood on the Side of this single Person, it ought to give good Men Pleasure to see that Right should take Place; but when, on the contrary, the Common-weal of a whole Nation, the quieting the Minds of a People distract-

stracted with Apprehension of the utmost Danger to their Properties, nay, the Preservation of the Purity of their Laws, is overborn by private Interest, what good Man but must lament such an unhappy State of Affairs?

And since the Matter was of this Importance, and seem'd to carry with it the Testimony of Heaven, in the universal Cry of the People, how could any particular Members of a Community, which had thus with one Voice depre-
cated the Evil, with any Shew of Reason take upon them the Risque of any Miscarriage in a Trial, in a subordinate Court?

It was to our gracious Sovereign, that all these Addresses and Petitions were presented: It was into his fatherly Hands the whole Nation committed the Care of their Cause; and it would have been the highest Piece of Arro-
gance, for any Person to have presumed to take upon themselves a Share in that Trust, which was only reposed in his Majesty's Hands. It is no wonder therefore, *That every one was guarded with Caution, against giving any Advice or Opinion in this Matter of State;* for which Reason they ought to apprehend great Danger to themselves, from meddling in it.

Tho' this Proceeding may seem extraordi-
nary; yet it being on a most extraordinary Mat-
ter, on a Matter of such Importance, as seem-
ed to involve the Civil Rights and Properties of a whole Nation in the Issue of it; on a Mat-
ter wherein the Lords and Commons were Complainant, and the King immediately con-
cerned,

cerned, not only as general Father of his People, but also as particular and only Trustee, in whom his People reposed entire Confidence to redress the Grievances complained of; was it not entirely reasonable and fit, that every particular Person of this Kingdom, should *rest* upon what was done by the whole Body of the People duly assembled in Parliament, and not arrogantly assume to themselves, a Power of putting the Fate of this Nation to an Issue before Twelve Men?

Since then it plainly appears, that this Matter is of such a high Nature, that no particular Person ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be presumed, that the Non-appearance of Persons *to support the united Sense of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland*, can never be construed as a general Diffidence, of being able to *support the Charge brought against the Patent and Patentee*; tho' indeed it might proceed from a general and a very reasonable *Apprehension of a Miscarriage* in this important Affair; wherein both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examination taken in the most solemn Manner; that for my Part, I (and so I hope every true Lover of his Country on his Part) will look upon their Resolutions, to have the same Dignity (in this Case) with a Maxim in Law, *Quia maxima est eorum dignitas, & certissima Authoritas, atque quod maximè omnibus probentur.*

And

And therefore I don't presume to enter the Lists, in order to support the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament ; for I look upon it, that they are *so sure and uncontroulable, that they ought not to be questioned* ; but it shall be the Business of this Paper, to point out some of the Mischiefs, which will naturally result from this Coinage of Mr. *Wood's*, in case it should be forced upon us.

We are told, that the Power of issuing this Money of Mr. *Wood's*, is limited, *and without any Compulsion, and Currency enforced, to be receiv'd by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same.* But then it is melancholy to behold, that this Patent is explained to be Obligatory *on all his Majesty's Officers and Ministers, to receive the same.*

By this Means there is a Foundation laid for the most unheard-of Confusion that ever was introduced into the Business of a Nation ; for here is established a Species of Money made of the basest Metal, which none in Employments under his Majesty must refuse in Payments to the Crown or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his Subjects are at Liberty to refuse the same in Payments to be made to them, either by his Majesty, or by any other Person.

Thus the Revenue of the Crown will be *Highly prejudiced*, by the Want of intrinsick Value in the Coin with which it is paid ; and the Army and all others in Employments under his Majesty, are the Persons, who, in the first Place, must bear the Burthen of this Mis-

chief. For if they are the only Persons who are *obliged* to receive this Coin as current Money, it is to be presum'd that no other Persons will receive the same but with considerable Allowance for the Difference between the *Brass Money*, and that made of Gold and Silver.

And even with a considerable Allowance, it will be hard to conceive how this *Brass Money* will find any Degree of Currency in the World, without the Assistance of a Set of Men, who may probably raise great Estates in this unsettled Course of Affairs ; but such a Set of People ought never to be encouraged by a wise Government, for they will make their Fortunes by the Losses of good Subjects, and by preying on the Revenue of the Prince : And yet those *Hucksters* or *Money-jobbers* will be found necessary, if this *Brass Money* is made current in the *Exchequer*.

To shew in some Measure the Proportion of this Mischief to his Majesty's Revenue, and to those in immediate Offices under him ; it must be considered, that the gross Revenue of this Kingdom is about 500,000 *l. per Annum* ; out of which must be deducted the Charge of Collection and Draw-backs ; which, to be sure, the several Collectors, and those who are to receive the Draw-backs, will take Care to receive in *Sterling Money* ; about 80,000 *l. per Annum* ; and there will remain for the Discharge of the Civil and Military Lists, Pensions, &c. 420,000 *l. per Annum*, which Sum, it

it is probable, issues out of the Treasury by monthly Payments of about 35,000 *l.* per Month, for otherwise the current Cash in this Nation could not possibly pay the Revenue, and serve to carry on even the little Business of this Country; for it hath never been computed that our current Coin amounts to more than 500,000 *l.* So that if 40,000 *l.* of Mr. Wood's Brass Money is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this Species should be brought in) it is manifest that that Sum will be near one Twelfth of the whole Coin in the Nation; and more than one Month's Pay of the Civil and Military Lists, and Pensions, &c. of this Kingdom.

If this Sum should stagnate in the Treasury, it is certain there will be no greater Loss (immediately brought) by this Coin to the Revenue, than the Money that there lies dead amounts to: But if it is issued in monthly Payments to the Army, and other his Majesty's Officers and Ministers, as in all probability it must; then this Coin, being composed of a base Metal, current only in the Exchequer, where it is receiv'd at an imaginary Value, of at least 60 *per Cent.* more than the real Value of the Material, it will be suddenly paid back again to the Collectors, and by that means pass thro' the Treasury, at least three Times in every Year; for there, we are told, it is to meet with *no Let or Molestation.*

And seeing the Currency of this Money is not inforced on any other of his Majesty's Sub-

jects, it is easy to conceive, that the Difference of Value between this Coin, and the Gold and Silver which will be current in the Nation, will be settled by the *Money-jobbers*, at about 20 per Cent. Discount.

By which Means alone, there will be lost in the intrinsick Value of the Revenue the Sum of 24,000 *l. per Ann.* without computing for the Losses which must necessarily be brought to the Revenue, by the general Diffidence, which the introducing this Coin will create among the People ; all which will be manifestly *destructive of the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and of dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject.*

And yet the Evil has been here computed on a Supposition that only 40,000 *l.* of this Money will be utter'd in the Kingdom ; but I take it to be impossible to limit the Quantity that shall be brought in, especially if the Importers of it have so sure a Market for the same as the *Exchequer.*

For though his Majesty should be able to prevent Mr. *Wood* from coining any more than 40,000 *l.* and should never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant his *special Licence or Authority*, to enlarge that Sum, yet it will be impossible to prevent the Importation of this sort of Coin from other Nations. And there have been such Variety of *Dyes* made use of by Mr. *Wood* in stamping his Money, that it makes the Discovery of Counterfeits more difficult; and the Profit is so great, that it will be a sufficient

Temp-

Temptation to our industrious Neighbours of *Holland* to send large Quantities of this Coin to so sure a Market as the *Exchequer*.

And perhaps it may be a Question among Lawyers, whether a Man can be punished at the King's Suit, for counterfeiting this Coin, because it is not the current Coin of the Kingdom; for tho' these Half-pence are to be received as Money in the *Exchequer*, yet in Trade they are no better than Counters, and therefore the Patent may perhaps be construed to be no more than a Grant of a *Monopoly* to make those Counters.

But it is worth observing, that if this Patent is so worded, as that his Majesty's Officers employed in the Receipt of his Revenue, can't refuse receiving this Coin, it is directly contrary to Two Acts of Parliament now in force in this Kingdom, and which are to be found in the Books of Rates distributed among the Officers of the Revenue.

For by the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the Duties thereby granted to his Majesty and his Successors, are to be paid in lawful Money of *England*. And by the Act of Excise, or New-Impost, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expressly declared and enacted, *That the several Rates and Duties of Excise, and all Fines, Penalties, Forfeitures, or other Sum or Sums of Money rated, imposed, set or forfeited, in and by this Act, are meant and intended to be Current and Lawful Money or Monies of England, and that all*

By these Acts it is manifest, that the Collectors are obliged to receive the several Duties arising from the Custom and Excise, in no other Money but such as is current and lawful Money of *England*; and Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence and Farthings not being current or lawful Money in *England*, or in this Kingdom, if this Patent is obligatory on them to receive Payments in this Coin, it is contrary to Acts of Parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several Collectors of his Majesty's Revenue in this Kingdom, should receive the said Duties, or any part of them, in Mr. *Wood's* *Brass Money*, it would be assuming to themselves a Power to dispense with those Acts of Parliament contrary to the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, and contrary to their respective Oaths; so that it seems highly reasonable, because consonant to Law, that *the Officers of the Revenue, should give Orders to the inferior Officers, not to receive this Coin.*

Perhaps it will be said, that the King hath a Power to direct what Coin he pleases to be received by the Officers of his Revenue, and that this Patent is in consequence of such a Prerogative. But it is to be hoped that this Doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a Coin, to which the whole Nation, as well in Parliament assembled, as in their private Capacities, have shewed a general Dislike.

Moreover,

Moreover, as this Case stands circumstanced, it is a great Question, whether his Majesty hath such a dispensing Power: For tho' it should be allowed that his Majesty might direct the Receipt of his own Revenue in what Coin he pleases; yet it is most certain, that his Majesty does not intend to enforce the Currency of *Wood's Money* among any of his Subjects, much less doth his Majesty intend to oblige those, who are intitled by *Act of Parliament*, to be paid in current Money of *England*, to receive this Money of *Mr. Wood's*.

And it is plain, that, by the *Act of Excise*, there are several *Fines*, *Penalties* and *Forfeitures*, which by Virtue of that *Act*, are to be received in current Money of *England*, and to half those *Fines*, *Forfeitures* and *Penalties*, the Informers are intitled by Virtue of the said *Act*: So that if the Officers should be obliged to receive them in *Brass Money*, the Informers must necessarily lose the Benefit of the said *Act*: And I may venture to say, that that *Act* cannot be repealed but by another *Act*, to be made by King, Lords, and Commons; and not by a *Patent*.

All these Things having been, among many other very weighty Matters, laid before both Houses of Parliament of *Ireland*; it is not to be wondered, that *they represent, that the Patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented Manner, and by notorious Misrepresentations of the State of Ireland*. For what can be more clandestine, than to obtain a *Patent* with Powers, not only *highly prejudicial to his*

his Majesty's Revenue, destructive of the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and of dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject, but also contrary to several Acts of Parliament? And that it was an unprecedented Attempt, at least in this Reign, will be readily allowed; therefore all the Representations made of the State of *Ireland*, in order to obtain this Patent, may with great Truth be called *Notorious Misrepresentations*.

But it has been said, that his Majesty cannot proceed against the Patentee, but according to the known Rules and Maxims of Law and Justice: And God forbid that any one of this Kingdom, should advise his Majesty to subvert or dispense with any of our Laws. No Part of the Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of *Ireland*, has the least Tendency this way.

For tho' the House of Commons, in their second Address to his Majesty, *most humbly beseech his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give Directions to the several Officers intrusted with the Receipt of his Majesty's Revenue, that they do not, on any Pretence whatsoever, utter such Half-pence and Farthings*: Yet, if his Majesty had been graciously pleased to have given Orders, according to this humble Address of his People of *Ireland*; it is humbly conceived that this would have been only an Affirmance of the Law of the Land, as hath been said, and not any way contrary to Law.

For

For tho' his Majesty, by his Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, *wills, requires, and commands his Lieutenant, Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of his Kingdom of Ireland, and all other Officers and Ministers of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, in England, Ireland, or elsewhere, to be Aiding and Assisting to the said William Wood, his Executors, &c. in the Execution of all or any the Powers, Authorities, Directions, Matters, or Things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their Benefit or Advantage, by Virtue, and in Pursuance of the said Indentures*; Yet it is in all Things as becometh, &c. And this is to be expounded by the known Laws of the Land, and by other Parts of the said Patent, whereby it is manifest that his Majesty never intended to *inforce the Currency of this Money, to be received by any Person, that would not Voluntarily and Wilfully accept the same.*

Therefore, since the People have shewed a general Dislike of this Coin, it is to be hoped, that some Method will be found out to ease their Minds, from the Distraction they are under on this Occasion.

A

Short V I E W

O F T H E

S T A T E o f *I R E L A N D.*

Written in the Year 1727.

I Am assured that it hath, for some Time, been practised as a Method of making Mens Court, when they are asked about the Rate of Lands, the Abilities of Tenants, the State of Trade and Manufacture in this Kingdom, and how their Rents are paid ; to answer, that in their Neighbourhood, all Things are in a flourishing Condition, the Rent and Purchase of Land every Day encreasing. And if a Gentleman happens to be a little more sincere in his Representations ; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a Dozen Contradictors at his Elbow. I think it is no Manner of Secret, why these Questions are so cordially asked, or so obligingly answered.

But since, with regard to the Affairs of this Kingdom, I have been using all Endeavours to subdue my Indignation ; to which, indeed, I am

am not provoked by any Personal Interest, not being the Owner of one Spot of Ground in the whole Island ; I shall only enumerate by Rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true Causes of any Country's flourishing and growing rich ; and then examine what Effects arise from those Causes in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The First Cause of a Kingdom's thriving, is the Fruitfulness of the Soil, to produce the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life : not only sufficient for the Inhabitants, but for Exportation into other Countries.

The Second is the Industry of the People, in working up all their native Commodities, to the last Degree of Manufacture.

The Third is the Conveniency of safe Ports and Havens, to carry out their own Goods, as much manufactured, and bring in those of others, as little manufactured, as the Nature of mutual Commerce will allow.

The Fourth is, that the Natives should, as much as possible, export and import their Goods in Vessels of their own Timber, made in their own Country.

The Fifth is the Privilege of a free Trade in all foreign Countries, which will permit them ; except those who are in War with their own Prince or State.

The Sixth is by being governed only by Laws made with their own Consent ; for otherwise they are not a free People. And therefore all Appeals for Justice, or Applications for Favour

Favour or Preferment, to another Country, are so many grievous Impoverishments.

The Seventh is by Improvement of Land, Encouragement of Agriculture, and thereby encreasing the Number of their People ; without which any Country, however blessed by Nature, must continue poor.

The Eighth is the Residence of the Prince, or chief Administrator of the Civil Power.

The Ninth is the Concourse of Foreigners, for Education, Curiosity, or Pleasure ; or as to a general Mart of Trade.

The Tenth is by disposing all Offices of Honour, Profit, or Trust, only to the Natives, or at least with very few Exceptions ; where Strangers have long inhabited the Country, and are supposed to understand and regard the Interest of it as their own.

The Eleventh is when the Rents of Lands, and Profits of Employments, are spent in the Country which produced them, and not in another ; the former of which will certainly happen, where the Love of our native Country prevails.

The Twelth is by the publick Revenues being all spent and employed at home ; except on the Occasions of a foreign War.

The Thirteenth is where the People are not obliged, unless they find it for their own Interest or Conveniency, to receive any Monies, except of their own Coinage by a publick Mint, after the Manner of all civilized Nations.

The

The Fourteenth is a Disposition of the People of a Country to wear their own Manufactures, and import as few Incitements to Luxury either in Cloaths, Furniture, Food, or Drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other Causes of a Nation's thriving, which I cannot at present recollect: but, without Advantage from at least some of these, after turning my Thoughts a long Time, I am not able to discover from whence our Wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what Share falls to *Ireland* of these Causes, or of the Effects and Consequences.

It is not my Intention to complain, but barely to relate Facts, and the Matter is not of small Importance. For it is allowed, that a Man who lives in a solitary House, far from Help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire, in the Neighbourhood, the Reputation of being rich; because those who come for Gold, will go off with Pewter and Brass, rather than return empty: And in the common Practice of the World, those who possess most Wealth, make the least Parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their Faces on the *Exchange*.

As to the first Cause of a Nation's Riches, being the Fertility of the Soil, as well as Temperature of Climate, we have no Reason to complain; for, although the Quantity of unprofitable Land in this Kingdom, reckoning

Bog, and Rock, and barren Mountain, be double in Proportion to what it is in *England*; yet the Native Productions which both Kingdoms deal in, are very near an Equality in Point of Goodness; and might, with the same Encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except Mines and Minerals; in some of which however, we are only defective in Point of Skill and Industry.

In the Second, which is the Industry of the People, our Misfortune is not altogether owing to our own Fault, but to a Million of Discouragements.

The Conveniency of Ports and Havens, which Nature hath bestowed so liberally on this Kingdom, is of no more Use to us than a beautiful Prospect to a Man shut up in a Dungeon.

As to Shipping of its own, *Ireland* is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent Timber cut down within these Fifty or Sixty Years, it can hardly be said, that the Nation hath received the Benefit of one valuable House to dwell in, or one Ship to trade with.

IRELAND is the only Kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern Story, which was denied the Liberty of exporting their native Commodities and Manufactures wherever they pleased; except to Countries at War with their own Prince or State: Yet this Privilege, by the Superiority of mere Power, is refused us, in the most momentous Parts of Commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which

which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed ; and a Thousand other unexampled Circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some Laws we never consented to ; which is a Condition I must not call by its true uncontrovected Name, for fear of Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed's Ghost*, with his * *Libertas & natale Solum*, written as a Motto on his Coach, as it stood at the Door of the Court, while he was perj--g himself to betray both. Thus, we are in the Condition of Patients, who have Physick sent them by Doctors at a Distance, Strangers to their Constitution, and the Nature of their Disease : And thus we are forced to pay five Hundred *per Cent.* to decide our Properties ; in all which, we have likewise the Honour to be distinguished from the whole Race of Mankind.

As to Improvement of Land ; those few who attempt that, or Planting, through Covetousness, or Want of Skill, generally leave Things worse than they were ; neither succeeding in Trees nor Hedges ; and by running into the Fancy of Grazing, after the Manner of the *Scythians*, are every Day depopulating the Country.

We are so far from having a King to reside among us, that even the Viceroy is generally

* *Liberty and my native Country.*

No Strangers from other Countries, make this a Part of their Travels ; where they can expect to see nothing but Scenes of Misery and Desolation.

Those who have the Misfortune to be born here, have the least Title to any considerable Employment ; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political Consideration.

One third Part of the Rents of *Ireland*, is spent in *England* ; which, with the Profit of Employments, Pensions, Appeals, Journeys of Pleasure or Health, Education at the *Inns* of Court, and both Universities, Remittances at Pleasure, the Pay of all Superior Officers in the Army, and other Incidents, will amount to a full half of the Income of the whole Kingdom ; all clear Profit to *England*.

We are denied the Liberty of Coining Gold, Silver, or even Copper. In the Isle of *Man*, they coin their own *Silver* ; every petty Prince, Vassal to the *Emperor*, can coin what Money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the Articles already mentioned, we are an Exception to all other States or Monarchies that were ever known in the World.

As to the last, or Fourteenth Article, we take special Care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole Course of our Lives. Both Sexes, but especially the Women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own Manufactures, even those which are better made than in other

Countries ;

Countries ; particularly a Sort of Silk^{*} Plad, through which the Workmen are forced to run a Sort of Gold Thread that it may pass for *Indian*. Even Ale and Potatoes are imported from *England*, as well as Corn ; and our foreign Trade is little more than Importation of *French* Wine ; for which I am told we pay ready Money.

Now, if all this be true, upon which I could easily enlarge, I would be glad to know by what secret Method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing People, without *Liberty*, *Trade*, *Manufactures*, *Inhabitants*, *Money*, or the *Privilege of Coining* ; without *Industry*, *Labour*, or *Improvements of Lands*, and with more than half the Rent and Profits of the whole *Kingdom* annually exported ; for which we receive not a single Farthing : And to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the Linnen of the *North*, a Trade casual, corrupted, and at Mercy ; and some Butter from *Cork*. If we do flourish, it must be against every Law of Nature and Reason ; like the Thorn at *Glastenbury*, that blossoms in the midst of Winter.

Let the worthy *Commissioners* who come from *England*, ride round the Kingdom, and observe the Face of Nature, or the Faces of the Natives ; the Improvement of the Land ; the thriving numerous Plantations ; the noble Woods ; the Abundance and Vicinity of Country Seats ; the commodious Farmers Houses and Barns ; the Towns and Villages where every Body is

busy, and thriving with all Kind of Manufactures ; the Shops full of Goods, wrought to Perfection, and filled with Customers ; the comfortable Diet, and Dress, and Dwellings of the People ; the vast Numbers of Ships in our Harbours and Docks, and Ship-wrights in our Sea-port Towns ; the Roads crowded with Carriers, laden with rich Manufactures ; the perpetual Concourse to and fro of pompous Equipages.

With what Envy and Admiration, would those Gentlemen return from so delightful a Progress ! What glorious Reports would they make, when they went back to *England* !

But my Heart is too heavy to continue this Irony longer ; for it is manifest that whatever Stranger took such a Journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in *Lapland* or *Ysland*, rather than in a Country so favoured by Nature as ours, both in Fruitlefulness of Soil, and Temperature of Climate. The miserable Dress, and Diet, and Dwelling of the People ; the general Desolation in most Parts of the Kingdom ; the old Seats of the Nobility and Gentry all in Ruins, and no new ones in their Stead ; the Families of Farmers, who pay great Rents, living in Filth and Nastiness, upon Buttermilk and Potatoes, without a Shoe or Stocking to their Feet, or a House so convenient as an *English* Hog-sty, to receive them. These, indeed, may be comfortable Sights to an *English* Spectator ; who comes for a short Time, only to *learn the Language*, and returns back to his own Country,

try, whither he finds all our Wealth transmuted.

Nostra miseria magna es.

There is not one Argument used to prove the Riches of *Ireland*, which is not a logical Demonstration of its Poverty. The Rise of our Rents is squeezed out of the very Blood, and Victuals, and Cloaths, and Dwellings of the Tenants ; who live worse than *English* Beggars. The Lowness of Interest, in all other Countries a Sign of Wealth, is in us a Proof of Misery ; there being no Trade to employ any Borrower. Hence, alone, comes the Dearness of Land, since the Savers have no other Way to lay out their Money : Hence the Dearness of Necessaries for Life ; because the Tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant Rates for Land (which they must take or go a begging) without raising the Price of Cattle, and of Corn, although themselves should live upon Chaff. Hence our Increase of Buildings in this City ; because Workmen have nothing to do, but to employ one another ; and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily Increase of *Bankers*, who may be a necessary Evil in a trading Country, but so ruinous in ours ; who, for their private Advantage, have sent away all our Silver, and one Third of our Gold ; so that within three Years past, the running Cash of the Nation, which was about Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, is now less than Two, and must daily

daily diminish, unless we have Liberty to coin, as well as that important Kingdom, the Isle of *Man*; and the meanest Principality in the *German Empire*, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this Paradox of the Kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to those worthy Gentlemen the **BANKERS**; who, except some Custom-house Officers, Birds of Passage, oppressive thrifty Squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving People among us: And I have often wished, that a Law were enacted to hang up half a Dozen *Bankers* every Year; and thereby interpose at least some short Delay, to the further Ruin of *Ireland*.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered *Pharoab* to the *Israelites*, when they complained to *his Majesty*, that they were forced to make Bricks without Straw.

ENGLAND enjoys every one of those Advantages for enriching a Nation, which I have above enumerated; and, into the Bargain, a good Million returned to them every Year, without Labour or Hazard, or one Farthing Value received on our Side. But how long we shall be able to continue the Payment, I am not under the least Concern. One Thing I know, that *when the Hen is starved to Death, there will be no more Golden Eggs.*

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtle Piece of Malice, that because there may be a Dozen Families in this Town,

Town, able to entertain their *English* Friends in a generous Manner at their Tables ; their Guests, upon their Return to *England*, shall report that we wallow in Riches and Luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an Hospital, where all the Household-Officers grew rich ; while the Poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of Food and Raiment.

To conclude, if *Ireland* be a rich and flourishing Kingdom, its Wealth and Prosperity must be owing to certain Causes, that are yet concealed from the whole Race of Mankind ; and the Effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at Strangers, when they deliver such Paradoxes ; but a Native and Inhabitant of this Kingdom, who gives the same Verdict, must be either ignorant to Stupidity, or a Man-pleaser, at the Expence of all Honour, Conscience, and Truth,

A

L E T T E R

F R O M

Captain *Gulliver* to his Cousin
Sympson.

Written in the Year 1727.

I Hope you will be ready to own publickly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent Urgency you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect Account of my Travels; with Direction to hire some young Gentleman of either University to put them in Order, and correct the Style, as my Cousin *Dampier* did, by my Advice, in his Book called, *A Voyage round the World*. But I do not remember I gave you Power to consent, that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted: Therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that Kind; particularly a Paragraph about her Majesty Queen *Anne*, of most pious and glorious Memory; although I did reverence

reverence and esteem her more than any of human Species. But you, or your Interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my Inclination, so was it not decent to praise any Animal of our Composition before my Master *Houyhnhnm*: And besides the Fact was altogether false; for, to my Knowledge, being in *England* during some Part of her Majesty's Reign, she did govern by a Chief Minister; nay even by two successively, the first whereof was the Lord of *Godolphin*, and the second the Lord of *Oxford*; so that you have made me say *the Thing that was not*. Likewise in the Account of the Academy of Projectors, and several Passages of my Discourse to my Master *Houyhnhnm*, you have either omitted some material Circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a Manner, that I do hardly know mine own Work. When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a Letter, you were pleased to answer, that you were afraid of giving Offence; that People in Power were very watchful over the Prefs., and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an *Innuendo* (as I think you call it.) But pray how could that which I spoke of many Years ago, and at a-bove five thousand Leagues Distance, in another Reign, be applied to any of the *Yahoos*, who are now said to govern the Herd; especially at a Time when I little thought on or feared the Unhappiness of living under them? Have not I the most Reason to complain, when

I see

I see these very *Yahoos* carried by *Houyhnhnms* in a Vehicle, as if these were Brutes, and those the rational Creatures? And, indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a Sight, was one principal Motive to my Retirement thither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you in relation to yourself, and to the Trust I reposed in you.

I do, in the next Place, complain of my own great want of Judgment, in being prevailed upon by the Intreaties and false Reasonings of you and some others, very much against my own Opinion, to suffer my Travels to be published. Pray bring to your Mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the Motive of *Publick Good*, that the *Yahoos* were a Species of Animals utterly incapable of Amendment by Precepts or Example: And so it hath proved; for, instead of seeing a full Stop put to all Abuses and Corruptions, at least in this little Island, as I had Reason to expect; behold, after above six Months Warning, I cannot learn that my Book has produced one single Effect according to mine Intentions. I desired you would let me know by a Letter, when Party and Faction were extinguished; Judges learned and upright; Pleaders honest and modest, with some Tincture of common Sense, and *Smithfield* blazing with Pyramids of Law-Books; the young Nobility's Education entirely changed; the Physicians banished; the Female *Yahoos* abounding in Virtue; Honour, Truth,

Truth, and Good Sense ; Courts, and Levees of great Ministers thoroughly weeded and swept ; Wit, Merit, and Learning rewarded ; all Disgracers of the Press in Prose and Verse condemned to eat nothing but their own Cotton, and quench their Thirst with their own Ink. These, and a thousand other Reforms, I firmly counted upon by your Encouragement ; as indeed they were plainly deducible from the Precepts delivered in my Book. And it must be owned, that seven Months were a sufficient Time to correct every Vice and Folly to which *Yahoos* are subject, if their Names had been capable of the least Disposition to Virtue or Wisdom : Yet, so far have you been from answering mine Expectation in any of your Letters ; that, on the contrary, you are loading our Carrier every Week with Libels, and Keys, and Reflections, and Memoirs, and second Parts ; wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great States-folk ; of degrading human Nature, (for so they have still the Confidence to style it) and of abusing the Female Sex. I find likewise, that the Writers of those Bundles are not agreed among themselves ; for some of them will not allow me to be the Author of mine own Travels ; and others make me Author of Books to which I am wholly a Stranger.

I find likewise that your Printer hath been so careless as to confound the Times and mistake the Dates of my several Voyages and Returns ; neither assigning the true Year, nor the

true Month, nor Day of the Month: And I hear the original Manuscript is all destroyed since the Publication of my Book; neither have I any Copy left; however, I have sent you some Corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second Edition: And yet I cannot stand to them; but shall leave that Matter to my judicious and candid Readers, to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our Sea-Yahoos find Fault with my Sea-Language, as not proper in many Parts, nor now in Use. I cannot help it. In my first Voyages, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest Mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found that the Sea-Yahoos are apt, like the Land ones, to become new-fangled in their Words; which the latter change every Year: insomuch as I remember; upon each Return to my own County, their old Dialect was so altered, that I could hardly understand the new. And I observe, when any *Yahoo* comes from *London* out of Curiosity to visit me at mine own House, we neither of us are able to deliver our Conceptions in a Manner intelligible to the other.

If the Censure of the *Yahoos* could any way affect me, I should have great Reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my Book of Travels a mere Fiction out of mine own Brain; and have gone so far as to drop Hints, that the *Houyhnhnms* and *Yahoos* have no more Existence than the Inhabitants of *Utopia*.

Indeed

Indeed I must confess, that as to the People of *Lilliput*, *Brobdingnag* (for so the Word should have been spelt, and not erroneously *Brobding-nag*) and *Laputa*, I have never yet heard of any *Yahoo* so presumptuous as to dispute their Being, or the Fact I have related concerning them; because the Truth immediately strikes every Reader with Conviction. And is there less Probability in my Account of the *Houyhnhnms* or *Yahoos*, when it is manifest, as to the latter, there are so many thousands, even in this City, who only differ from their Brother Brutes in *Houyhnhnm-land*, because they use a sort of *Jabber*, and do not go naked? I wrote for their Amendment, and not their Approbation. The united Praise of the whole Race would be of less Consequence to me, than the Neighing of those two degenerate *Houyhnhnms* I keep in my Stable; because, from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some Virtues, without any Mixture of Vice.

Do these miserable Animals presume to think that I am so degenerated as to defend my Veracity? *Yahoo* as I am, it is well known through all *Houyhnhnm-land*, that, by the Instructions and Example of my illustrious Master, I was able in the Compass of two Years (although, I confess, with the utmost Difficulty) to remove that infernal Habit of Lying, Shuffling, Deceiving, and Equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very Souls of all my Species; especially the *Europeans*.

I have other Complaints to make upon this vexatious Occasion: but I forbear troubling my self or you any further. I must freely confess, that since my last Return, some Corruptions of my *Yahoo* Nature have revived in me by conversing with a few of your Species, and particularly those of mine own Family, by an unavoidable Necessity; else I should never have attempted so absurd a Project as that of reforming the *Yahoo* Race in this Kingdom: But, I have now done with all such visionary Schemes for ever.

April 2, 1727.



A N

A N
A N S W E R
 T O A
P A P E R,
 C A L L E D

A Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Written in the Year 1728.

I Received a *Paper* from you, wherever you are, printed without any Name of Author or Printer ; and sent, I suppose, to me among others, without any particular Distinction. It contains a Complaint of the Dearness of Corn ; and some Schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short History of the Steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful Situation.

It was indeed the shameful Practice of too many *Irish* Farmers, to wear out their Ground with Ploughing ; while, either through Poverty, Laziness, or Ignorance, they neither took Care to manure it as they ought, nor gave Time to any Part of the Land to recover itself ; and when their Leases are near expiring, being assured that their Landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the Meadows, and made such Havock, that many Landlords were considerable Sufferers by it.

This gave Birth to that abominable Race of **Graziers**, who upon the Expiration of the Farmers Leases, were ready to engross great Quantities of Land ; and the Gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their Land wore out of Heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich **Grazier** made an Offer to take all their Land, and give them Security for Payment. Thus, a vast Tract of Land, where Twenty or Thirty Farmers lived together, with their Cottagers and Labourers in their several Cabbins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two Herds-men, and their Boys ; whereby the Master-Grazier, with little Trouble, seized to himself the Livelihood of a Hundred People.

It must be confessed, that the Farmers were justly punished for their *Knavery, Brutality, and Folly*. But neither are the *Squires* and *Landlords* to be excused ; for to them is owing the depopulating of the Country, the vast Number of *Beggars*, and the Ruin of those few sorry Improvements we had.

Th t

That *Farmers* should be limited in Ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in *England*; and might have easily been done here, by penal Clauses in their Leafes: But to deprive them, in a manner, altogether from Tilling their Lands, was a most stupid Want of Thinking.

Had the *Farmers* been confined to plough a certain Quantity of Land, with a Penalty of Ten Pounds an Acre, for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the Three or Four last Years of their Leafes, all this Evil had been prevented; the Nation would have saved a *Million of Money*; and been more populous by above *Two Hundred Thousand Souls*.

For a People denied the Benefit of *Trade* to manage their Lands in such a Manner, as to produce nothing but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such Things as they can neither export nor manufacture to Advantage, is an Absurdity that a *wild Indian* would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful Commerce, by sending to foreign Markets for our daily Bread.

The *Grazier's* Employment is to feed great Flocks of *Sheep*, or *Black Cattle*, or both. With regard to *Sheep*, as Folly is usually accompanied with Perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a Commodity (further than for our own Use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even

even unmanufactured, but to *one certain Country*, and only to some few Ports in that Country ; there is, I say, something so softish, that it wants a Name, in our Language, to express it by : And the Good of it is, that the more *Sheep* we have, the fewer human Creatures are left to wear the *Wool*, or eat the *Flesh*. *Ajax* was mad when he mistook a Flock of *Sheep* for his Enemies : But we shall never be sober, until we have the same Way of Thinking.

The other Part of the *Grazier's* Business is what we call *Black Cattle*, producing *Hides*, *Tallow*, and *Beef* for Exportation. All which are good and useful Commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest Part of the *Hides* are sent out raw, for want of *Bark* to *Tan* them ; and that Want will daily grow stronger : For, I doubt, the new Project of *Tanning* without it, is at an End. Our *Beef*, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign Markets, for the old Reasons. But our *Tallow*, for any Thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole Kingdom on *Beef* and *Mutton*, and thereby drive out half the People, who should eat their Share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as *Egypt*, for Bread to eat with it ; is a most peculiar and distinguished Piece of publick Oeconomy, of which I have no Comprehension.

I know very well that our Ancestors, the *Scythians*, and their Posterity, cur. *Kinsmen* the

Tar-

Tartars, lived upon the Blood and Milk, and raw Flesh of their Cattle, without one Grain of *Corn*; but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without *Bread* to my Victuals.

What amazed me for a Week or two, was to see, in this prodigious Plenty of *Cattle* and Dearth of *human Creatures*, and want of *Bread*, as well as *Money* to buy it, that all Kind of *Flesh-meat* should be monstrously *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this Kingdom. I thought it a Defect in the Laws, that there was not some Regulation in the Price of *Flesh*, as well as *Bread*: But I imagine myself to have guessed out the Reason. In short, I am apt to think, that the whole Kingdom is over-stocked with *Cattle*, both *Black* and *White*: And, as it is observed, that the poor *Irish* have a Vanity, to be rather Owners of two lean Cows, than one fat, although with double the Charge of Grazing, and but half the Quantity of Milk; so I conceive it much more difficult, at present, to find a fat *Bullock*, or *Wether*, than it would be, if half of both were fairly knocked on the Head: For I am assured, that the District in the several Markets, called *Carrion-Row*, is as reasonable as the Poor can desire; only the Circumstance of *Money* to purchase it, and of *Trade*, or *Labour* to purchase that *Money*, are, indeed, wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your Memorial.

A Hun-

A Hundred Thousand Barrels of *Wheat*, you say, should be imported hither; and Ten Thousand Pounds, *Præmium*, to the Importers. Have you looked into the Purse of the Nation? I am no Commissioner of the *Treasury*; but, am well assured, that the whole Running *Cash* would not supply you with a Sum to purchase so much *Corn*, which, only at Twenty Shillings a Barrel, will be a Hundred Thousand Pounds; and Ten Thousand more for the *Præmium*. But you will traffick for your *Corn* with other Goods: And where are those Goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the Rents of *Absentees*, and other Occasions in *London*; besides a huge Balance of Trade this Year against us. Will Foreigners take our Bankers Paper? I suppose, they will value it at little more than so much a Quire. Where are these rich *Farmers* and *In-grossers* of *Corn*, in so bad a Year, and so little Sowing?

You are in Pain for two Shillings *Præmium*, and forget the Twenty Shillings for the Price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your Scheme for a Tax for raising such a Sum, is all visionary, and owing to a great want of Knowledge in the miserable State of this Nation. *Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Spices, Wine*, and *foreign Cloths*, are the Particulars you mention, upon which this Tax should be raised. I will allow the two first; because they are unwholesome; and the last, because I should be glad

glad if they were all burned ; but I beg you will leave us our Wine, to make us a while forget our Misery ; or give your Tenants leave to plough for Barley. But I will tell you a Secret, which I learned many Years ago from the Commissioners of the *Customs* in *London* : They said, when any *Commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate Rate*, the Consequence was to lessen that Branch of the Revenue by one Half ; and one of those Gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the Mistake of Parliaments, on such Occasions, was owing to an Error of computing Two and Two to make Four ; whereas, in the Business of laying *heavy Impositions*, Two and Two never made more than One ; which happens by lessening the Import, and the strong Temptation of running such Goods as paid high Duties, at least in this Kingdom. Although the Women are as vain and extravagant as their Lovers or their Husbands can deserve, and the Men are fond enough of Wine, yet the Number of both, who can afford such Expences, is so small, that the major Part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the Duties will rather be lessened than increased. But allowing no Force in this Argument ; yet so preternatural a Sum, as One Hundred and Ten Thousand Pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with Hunger) is just in Proportion with raising a Million and a half in *England* ; which, as Things now stand, would probably bring that

that opulent Kingdom under some Difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprizing it would be in foreign Parts, to hear that the Poor were starving in a RICH Country, &c. Are you in earnest? Is *Ireland* the rich Country you mean? or are you insulting our Poverty? Were you ever out of *Ireland*? Or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good Employment, and are saving all you can, to purchase a good Estate in *England*. But by talking so familiarly of One Hundred and Ten Thousand Pounds, by a Tax upon a few Commodities, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present Condition; or else you would know and allow that such a Sum is not to be raised here, without a general Excise; since, in Proportion to our Wealth, we pay already in Taxes more than *England* ever did, in the Height of the War. And when you have brought over your Corn, who will be the Buyers? Most certainly not the Poor, who will not be able to purchase the Twentieth Part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your Paper is a very crude Piece, liable to more Objections than there are Lines; but, I think, your Meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general Contribution, for supporting the Poor in *Potatoes* and *Buttermilk*; till the new Corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the Thing, at least,

is

is possible : And, I think, if our Brethren in *England* would contribute, upon this Emergency, out of the Million they gain from us every Year, they would do a Piece of *Justice* as well as *Charity*. In the mean time, go and preach to your own Tenants to fall to the Plough as fast as they can ; and prevail with your neighbouring 'Squires to do the same with theirs ; or else die with the Guilt of having driven away half the Inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your Scheme of raising *One Hundred and Ten Thousand Pounds*, it is as vain as that of *Rabelais* ; which was to squeeze out Wind from the Posteriors of a dead Ass.

But, why all this Concern for the Poor ? We want them not as the Country is now managed ; they may follow Thousands of their Leaders, and seek their Bread abroad. Where the Plough has no Work, one Family can do the Business of Fifty, and you may send away the other Forty-nine. An admirable Piece of Husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest Nations ; who erroneously thought People to be the Riches of a Country.

If so wretched a State of Things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious Pleasure, after all the Warning I have in vain given the Publick, at my own Peril, for several Years past, to see the Consequences and Events answering in every Particular. I pretend to no Sagacity : What I writ was little

more than what I had discoursed to several Persons, who were generally of my Opinion. And it was obvious to every common Understanding, that such Effects must needs follow from such Causes. A fair issue of Things, begun upon Party Rage, while some sacrificed the Publick to Fury, and others to Ambition! While a Spirit of Faction and Oppression reigned in every Part of the Country; where Gentlemen, instead of consulting the Ease of their Tenants, or cultivating their Lands, were worrying one another, upon Points of *Whig* and *Tory*, of *High Church* and *Low Church*; which, no more concerned them, than the long and famous Controversy of *Strops for Razors*: While *Agriculture* was wholly dis-couraged, and consequently half the Farmers and Labourers, and poorer Tradesmen, forced to Beggary or Banishment: *Wisdom crieth in the Streets*; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my Hand, and no Man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my Counsels, and would none of my Reproof. I also will laugh at your Calamity, and mock when your Fear cometh.

I have now done with your Memorial, and freely excuse your Mistakes, since you appear to write as a Stranger, and as of a Country which is left at Liberty to enjoy the Benefits of Nature; and to make the best of those Advan-tages which God hath given it in Soil, Cli-mate, and Situation.

But

But having lately sent out a Paper, entitled, *A short View of the State of Ireland*; and hearing of an Objection, that some People think I have treated the Memory of the late Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, with an Appearance of Severity: Since I may not probably have another Opportunity of explaining myself in that Particular, I chuse to do it here: Laying it therefore down for a *Postulatum*; which, I suppose, will be universally granted; That no little Creature, of so mean a Birth and Genius, had ever the Honour to be a greater Enemy to his Country, and to all Kinds of Virtue than HE: I answer thus; Whether there be two different Goddesses called *Fame*, as some Authors contend, or only one Goddess, sounding two different Trumpets, it is certain, that People distinguished for their *Villainy*, have as good a Title to a Blast from the proper *Trumpet*, as those who are most renowned for their *Virtues* have from the other; and have equal Reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the Names of the most celebrated *Profligates* have been faithfully transmittted down to Posterity. And although the Person here understood acted his Part in an obscure Corner of the World, yet his Talents might have shone with Lustre enough in the noblest Scene.

As to my naming a Person dead, the plain honest Reason is the best. He was armed with Power and Will to do Mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two *Printers*, one to Death, and both

to Ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the King, nor Him, nor the Publick.

What an Encouragement to Vice is this ? If an ill Man be alive, and in Power, we dare not attack him ; and if he be weary of the World, or of his own Villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his Reputation is safe. For these excellent Casuists know just Latin enough to have heard a most foolish Precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* ; so that if *Socrates* and *Anytus* his Accuser, had happened to die together, the Charity of Survivors must either have obliged them to hold their Peace, or to fix the same Character on both. The only Crime of charging the Dead is, when the least Doubt remains whether the Accusation be true ; but when Men are openly abandoned, and lost to all Shame, they have no Reason to think it hard, if their Memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that Man is a Slanderer, *Hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveta.* Even the least Misrepresentation, or Aggravation of Facts, deserves the same Censure in some Degree : But in this Case I am quite deceived, if my Error hath not been on the Side of Extenuation.

I have now present before me the Idea of some Persons, (I know not in what Part of the World) who spend every Moment of their Lives, and every Turn of their Thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their Dreams while

while they sleep) in the most detestable Actions and Designs ; who delight in *Mischief, Scandal, and Obloquy*, with the *Hatred and Contempt* of all Mankind against them ; but chiefly of those among their own Party, and their own Family ; such, whose *odious Qualities* rival each other for Perfection ; *Avarice, Brutality, Faction, Pride, Malice, Treachery, Noise, Impudence, Dulness, Ignorance, Vanity, and Revenge*, contending every Moment for Superiority in their Breasts. Such Creatures are not to be reformed ; neither is it prudent, or safe to attempt a Reformation. Yet although their Memories will *rot*, there may be some Benefit for their Survivors, to smell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

Dublin, March

25th, 1728.

A. B.

THE INTELLIGENCER. N^o. 3.

*Ipse per omnes
Ibit personas, & turbam reddet in unam.*

Written in *Ireland* in the Year 1728.

THE Players having now almost done with the Comedy called the *Beggar's Opera*, for the Season ; it may be no unpleasant Speculation, to reflect a little upon this *Dramatick Piece*, so singular in the Subject and Manner, so much an Original, and which hath frequently given so very agreeable an Entertainment.

Although an evil *Taste* be very apt to prevail, both here and in *London* ; yet there is a Point which whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great Majority ; so great, that the Dislikers, out of Dulness or Affection, will be silent, and forced to fall in with the Herd : The Point I mean is what we call *Humour* ; which in its Perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to *Wit* ; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable Species of it.

I agree

I agree with Sir *William Temple*, that the Word is peculiar to our *English Tongue*; but I differ from him in the Opinion, that the Thing itself is peculiar to the *English Nation*, because the contrary may be found in many *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French* Productions: And particularly, whoever hath a *Taste* for *true Humour*, will find an hundred Instances of it in those Volumes printed in *France*, under the Name of *Le Theatre Italien*: To say nothing of *Rabelais*, *Cervantes*, and many others.

Now I take the *Comedy*, or *Farce*, (or what ever Name the *Criticks* will allow it) called the *Beggar's Opera*, to excel in this Article of *Humour*; and upon that Merit to have met with such prodigious Success, both here and in *England*.

As to *Poetry*, *Eloquence*, and *Musick*, which are said to have most Power over the Minds of Men; it is certain that very few have a *Taste* or *Judgment* of the Excellencies of the two former; and if a Man succeed in either, it is upon the Authority of those few *Judges*, that lend their *Taste* to the Bulk of Readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good *Judges* in *Musick*; and that among those who crowd the *Opera's*, Nine in Ten go thither merely out of *Curiosity*, *Fashion*, or *Affection*.

But a *Taste* for *Humour* is in some Manner fixed to the very Nature of Man, and generally obvious to the *Vulgar*, except upon Subjects too refined, and superior to their Understanding.

And,

And, as this *Taste of Humour* is purely natural, so is the *Humour* itself; neither is it a *Talent* confined to Men of *Wit*, or *Learning*; for we observe it sometimes among common Servants, and the meanest of the People, while the very Owners are often ignorant of the Gift they possess.

I know very well that this happy *Talent* is contemptibly treated by *Criticks*, under the Name of *low Humour*, or *low Comedy*; but I know likewise that the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, who are allowed to have the most *Wit* of any *Nation in Europe*, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what Disposition of the Mind, what Influence of the Stars, or what Situation of the *Climate*, this Endowment is bestowed upon Mankind, may be a Question fit for *Philosophers* to discuss. It is certainly the best Ingredient towards that Kind of *Satire* which is most useful, and gives the least Offence; which, instead of lashing, laughs Men out of their Follies, and Vices; and is the Character that gives *Horace* the Preference to *Juvenal*.

And, altho' some Things are too serious, solemn, or sacred to be turned into Ridicule, yet the Abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed that Corruptions in *Religion*, *Politicks*, and *Law*, may be proper *Topicks* for this kind of *Satire*. *

There are two Ends that Men propose in writing *Satire*: One of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than

the

the private Satisfaction, and Pleasure of the Writer ; but without any View towards *personal Malice* : The other is a *publick Spirit*, prompting Men of *Genius* and Virtue to mend the World as far as they are able. And as both these Ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a Title to laugh, as Men have to be ridiculous ; and to expose Vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the Follies and Corruptions of a *Court*, a *Ministry*, or a *Senate*, are they not amply paid by *Pensions*, *Titles*, and *Power*, while I expect, and desire no other Reward, than that of laughing with a few Friends in a Corner ? Yet, if those who take Offence, think me in the Wrong, I am ready to change the Scene with them, whenever they please.

But, if my Design be to make Mankind better, then I think it is my Duty ; at least, I am sure it is the Interest of those very *Courts* and *Ministers*, whose Follies or Vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good Intentions : For if it be reckoned a high Point of Wisdom to get the Laughers on our Side ; it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our Side, who can make Millions laugh when they please.

My Reason for mentioning *Courts*, and *Ministers*, (*whom I never think on, but with the most profound Veneration*) is, because an Opinion obtains, that in the *Beggar's Opera* there appears to be some Reflection upon *Courtiers* and

and *Statesmen*, whereof I am by no Means a Judge.

It is true, indeed, that Mr. GAY, the Author of this Piece, hath been somewhat singular in the Course of his Fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen Years attending the *Court*, with a large Stock of real Merit, a modest and agreeable Conversation, a hundred *Promises*, and * *five hundred Friends*, he hath failed of Preferment; and upon a very weighty Reason. He lay under the Suspicion of having written a *Libel*, or *Lampoon* against a great † Minister. It is true, that great Minister was demonstratively convinced, and publickly owned his Conviction, that Mr. GAY was not the Author; but having lain under the Suspicion, it seemed very just, that he should suffer the Punishment; because in this most reformed Age, the Virtues of a Prime Minister are no more to be suspected, than the *Chastity* of *Cæsar's Wife*.

It must be allowed, That the *Peggar's Opera* is not the first of Mr. GAY's Works, wherein he hath been faulty, with regard to *Courtiers* and *Statesmen*. For to omit his other Pieces; even in his *Fables*, published within two Years past, and dedicated to the Duke of *CUMBERLAND*, for which he was promised a Reward, he hath been thought somewhat too bold

* See this allegorized in his *Fables*, The *Hare* and many *Friends*. See Vol. I. *Fab. I.*

† *Sir R---- W----*

upon

upon the *Courtiers*. And although it be highly probable he meant only the *Courtiers* of former Times, yet he acted unwarily, by not considering that the Malignity of some People might misinterpret what he said, to the Disadvantage of the present *Persons* and *Affairs*.

But I have now done with Mr. GAY as a Politician; and shall consider him henceforward only as Author of the *Beggar's Opera*, wherein he hath, by a turn of *Humour* entirely new, placed Vices of all Kinds in the strongest and most odious Light: and thereby done eminent Service, both to *Religion* and *Morality*. This appears from the unparalleled Success he hath met with: All *Ranks*, *Parties*, and *Denominations* of Men either crowding to see his *Opera*, or reading it with Delight in their Closets; even *Ministers* of State, whom he is thought to have most offended, (next to those whom the *Actors* represent) appearing frequently at the *Theatre*, from a Consciousness of their own Innocence, and to convince the World how unjust a Parallel *Malice*, *Envy*, and *Disaffection to the Government* have made.

I am assured that several worthy *Clergymen* in this *City* went privately to see the *Beggar's Opera* represented; and that the *flaunting Coxcombs* in the *Pit*, amused themselves with making Discoveries, and spreading the Names of those Gentlemen round the Audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a *Clergyman*, who would appear only in his Habit at a *Theatre*, with such a vicious Crew as might probably

bably stand round him, at such *Comedies* and profane *Tragedies* as are often represented. Besides, I know very well, that Persons of their Function are bound to avoid the Appearance of Evil, or of giving Cause of Offence. But when the *Lords Chancellors*, who are Keepers of the King's Conscience; when the *Judges* of the Land, whose Title is *Reverend*; when *Ladies*, who are bound by the Rules of their Sex to the strictest Decency, appear in the *Theatre* without Censure, I cannot understand, why a young *Clergyman*, who comes concealed out of Curiosity to see an innocent and moral Play, should be so highly condemned: Nor do I much approve the Rigour of a great Prelate, who said, *he hoped none of his Clergy were there*. I am glad to hear there are no weightier Objections against that Reverend Body planted in this City, and I will wish there never may. But I should be very sorry that any of them should be so weak, as to imitate a * *Court-Chaplain* in ENGLAND, who preached against the *Beggar's Opera*; which will probably do more Good, than a thousand Sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a Divine.

In this happy Performance of Mr. GAY's all the Characters are just, and none of them carried beyond Nature, or hardly beyond Practice.

* Dr. H----g, C----n to the Society at Lincoln's-Inn, since raised to a more elevated Station.

tice. It discovers the whole System of that Commonwealth, or that *Imperium in Imperio* of Iniquity, established among us, by which neither our Lives nor our Properties are secure, either in the High-ways, or in publick Assemblies, or even in our own Houses. It shews the miserable Lives, and the constant Fate of those abandoned Wretches: For how little they sell their Lives and Souls; betrayed by their *Whores*, their *Comrades*, and the *Receivers* and *Purchasers* of those Thefts and Robberies. This *Comedy* contains likewise a *Satire*, which, without enquiring whether it affects the present Age, may possibly be useful in Times to come. I mean, where the Author takes the Occasion of comparing those *common Robbers of the Publick*, and their several Stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several Arts of *Politicians* in Times of Corruption.

This *Comedy* likewise exposeth, with great Justice, that unnatural Taste for *Italian* Musick among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our Northern *Climate*, and the Genius of the People, whereby we are over-run with *Italian Effeminacy*, and *Italian* Nonsense. An old Gentleman said to me, that many Years ago, when the Practice of an unnatural Vice grew frequent in *London*, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the Forerunner of *Italian* Operas and Singers; and then we should want nothing but Stabbing, or Poisoning, to make us perfect *Italians*.

Upon the Whole, I deliver my Judgment,
That nothing but servile Attachment to a Party,
Affection of Singularity, lamentable Dul-
ness, mistaken Zeal, or studied Hypocrify, can
have the least reasonable Objection against this
excellent moral Performance of the *Celebrated*
Mr. GAY.



THE

T H E INTELLIGENCER. N^o 19.

N. B. *In the following Discourse the Author personates a Country Gentleman in the North of Ireland. And this Letter is supposed as directed to the DRAPIER.*

Having on the 12th of October last, received a LETTER, signed Andrew Dealer, and Patrick Pennyless, I believe the following PAPER, just come to my Hands, will be a sufficient Answer to it.

Sic vos, non vobis, vellera fertis, oves.

Written in the Year 1728.

SIR,

I Am a Country Gentleman, and a Member of Parliament, with an Estate of about 1400*l.* a Year; which, as a Northern Landlord, I receive from above two hundred Tenants: And my Lands having been let near twenty Years ago, the Rents, until very lately, were esteemed not to be above half Value; yet

by the intolerable Scarcity of *Silver*, I lie under the greatest Difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my Labourers, or buying any thing necessary for my Family from *Tradesmen*, who are not able to be long out of their *Money*. But the Sufferings of me, and those of my Rank, are Trifles in Comparison of what the meaner Sort undergo ; such as the *Buyers* and *Sellers* at *Fairs* and *Markets* ; the *Shopkeepers* in every *Town* ; the *Farmers* in general ; all those who travel with *Fish*, *Poultry*, *Pedlary-ware*, and other Conveniencies to sell : But more especially *Handicrafts-men*, who work for us by the Day ; and common Labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these Kind of People I am forced to employ until their Wages amount to a *Double Pistole*, or a *Moidore*, (for we hardly have any *Gold* of lower Value left us) to divide it among themselves as they can : And this is generally done at an *Ale-house* or *Brandy-shop* ; where, besides the Cost of getting *drunk*, (which is usually the Case) they must pay *Ten Pence* or a *Shilling*, for changing their *Piece* into *Silver*, to some *Huck-stering Fellow*, who follows that *Trade*. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor Men, for want of due Payment, are forced to take up their *Oat-meal*, and other Necessaries of Life, at almost double Value ; and, consequently, are not able to discharge half their Score, especially under the Scarceness of *Corn*, for two Years past ; and the melancholy Disappointment of the present *Crop*.

The

The Causes of this, and a Thousand other Evils, are clear and manifest to you, and all thinking Men ; although hidden from the Vulgar : These indeed complain of hard Times, the Dearth of Corn, the Want of Money, the Badness of Seasons ; that their Goods bear no Price, and the Poor cannot find Work ; but their weak Reasonings never carry them to the Hatred and Contempt borne us by our Neighbours and Brethren, without the least Grounds of Provocation ; who rejoice at our Sufferings, although sometimes to their own Disadvantage. They consider not the dead Weight upon every beneficial Branch of our Trade ; that half our Revenues are annually sent to *England* ; with many other Grievances peculiar to this unhappy Kingdom ; which keep us from enjoying the common Benefits of Mankind ; as you and some other Lovers of their Country have so often observed, with such good Inclinations, and so little Effect.

It is true indeed, that under our Circumstances in general, this Complaint for the Want of *Silver*, may appear as ridiculous, as for a Man to be impatient about a *Cut Finger*, when he is struck with the *Plague* : And yet a poor Fellow going to the *Gallows* may be allowed to feel the Smart of *Wasps* while he is upon *Tyburn-Road*. This Misfortune is so urging, and vexatious in every Kind of small Traffick, and so hourly pressing upon all Persons in the Country whatsoever ; that a hundred Inconveniencies, of perhaps greater Moment in

themselves, have been tamely submitted to, with far less Disquietude and Murmurs. And the Case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful Men assert, that nothing is more easy than a Remedy; and, that the Want of *Silver*, in Proportion to the little *Gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A Person of Distinction assured me very lately, that, in discoursing with the * *Lord Lieutenant*, before his last Return to *England*; his Excellency said, *He had pressed the Matter often, in proper Time and Place, and to proper Persons; and could not see any Difficulty of the least Moment, that could prevent us from being made easy upon this Article.*

Whoever carries to *England* twenty seven *English Shillings*, and brings back one *Moidore* of full Weight, is a gainer of Nine Pence *Irish*: In a *Guinea*, the Advantage is Three Pence; and Two Pence in a *Pistole*. The *BANKERS*, who are generally Masters of all our *Gold* and *Silver*, with this Advantage, have sent over as much of the latter, as came into their Hands. The Value of One Thousand *Moidores* in *Silver*, would thus amount in clear Profit, to *37 l. 10 s.* The *Shopkeepers*, and other *Traders*, who go to *London* to buy Goods, followed the same Practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable Distress.

To a common Thinker, it should seem, that nothing would be more easy, than for the

Government

* *The Lord Carteret.*

Government to redress this Evil, at any Time they shall please. When the Value of *Guineas* was lowered in *England* from 21 s. 6 d. to only 21 s. the Consequences to this Kingdom were obvious, and manifest to us all: And a sober Man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new Regulation of *Coin* among us, was not then made; much more, why it hath never been since. It would surely require no very profound Skill in *Algebra*, to reduce the Difference of *Nine Pence* in *Thirty Shillings*, or *Three Pence* in a *Guinea*, to less than a *Farthing*; and so small a Fraction could be no Temptation, either to *Bankers* to hazard their *Silver* at *Sea*, or *Tradesmen* to load themselves with it, in their Journies to *England*. In my humble Opinion it would be no unfeasonable Condescension, if the *Government* would graciously please to signify to the *poor loyal Protestant Subjects* of *Ireland*, either that this miserable Want of *Silver*, is not possible to be remedied in any Degree, by the nicest Skill in *Arithmetick*; or else, that it doth not stand with the good Pleasure of *England*, to suffer any *Silver* at all among us. In the former Case, it would be Madness to expect Impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit: For Lives and Fortunes are always at the Mercy of the CONQUEROR.

The Question hath been often put in *printed Papers*, by the *DRAPIER* and others, or, perhaps, by the same *WRITER*, under different Styles;

Styles; why this Kingdom should not be permitted to have a *Mint* of its own, for the Coinage of *Gold, Silver, and Copper*; which is a Power exercised by many *Bishops*, and every petty Prince in *Germany*? But this Question hath never been answered; nor the least Application, that I have heard of, made to the *Crown* from hence, for the Grant of a *Publick Mint*; although it stands upon Record, that several Cities and Corporations here had the Liberty of *Coining Silver*. I can see no Reasons why we alone, of all Nations, are thus restrained; but such as I dare not mention: Only thus far, I may venture; that *Ireland* is the first Imperial Kingdom, since *Nimrod*, which ever wanted Power to *coin* their own *Money*.

I know very well, that in *England*, it is lawful for any Subject to petition either the *Prince* or the *Parliament*, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular Manner: But what is lawful for a Subject of *Ireland*, I profess I cannot determine: Nor will undertake, that the *Printer* shall not be prosecuted, in a *Court of Justice*, for publishing my *Wishes*, that a poor Shopkeeper might be able to change a *Guinea* or a *Moidore*, when a Customer comes for a *Crown's Worth* of Goods. I have known less Crimes punished with the utmost Severity, under the Title of *Disaffection*. And I cannot but approve the Wisdom of the *Ancients*, who, after *Astrea* had fled from the Earth, at least took Care to provide *three upright Judges* for

for Hell.. Mens Ears, among us, are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happens to think out of Fashion, in what relates to the Welfare of this Kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the *Tooth-ach*, lest our weak and busy Dabblers in Politicks, should be ready to swear against him for *Disaffection*.

There was a Method, practised by Sir *Ambrose Crawley*, the great Dealer in *Iron-works*; which I wonder the Gentlemen of our Country, under this great Exigence, have not thought fit to imitate. In the several Towns and Villages where he dealt, and many Miles round, he gave *Notes* instead of *Money*, from *Two Pence* to *Twenty Shillings*; which passed current in all Shops and Markets, as well as in Houses, where Meat or Drink was sold. I see no Reason, why the like Practice may not be introduced among us, with some Degree of Success; or at least may not serve as a poor Expedient, in this our *blessed Age of Paper*; which as it dischargeth all our greatest Payments, may be equally useful in the smaller; and may just keep us alive until an *English Act of Parliament shall forbid it.*

I have been told, that among some of our poorest *American Colonies*, upon the Continent, the People enjoy the Liberty of cutting the little *Money* among them into Halves and Quarters, for the Conveniencies of small Trafick. How happy should we be, in Comparison of our present Condition, if the like Privilege were granted to us, of employing the Sheers,

Sheers, for want of a *Mint*, upon our *foreign Gold*; by clipping it into *Half-Crowns*, and *Shillings*, and even lower Denominations; for Beggars must be content to live upon Scraps; and it would be our Felicity, that these Scraps could never be exported to other Countries, while any Thing better was left.

If neither of these Projects will avail, I see nothing left us, but to truck and barter our *Gods* like the *wild Indians*, with each other; or with our too powerful Neighbours; only with this Disadvantage on our Side, that the *Indians* enjoy the Product of their own Land; whereas the better Half of ours is sent away, without so much as a Recompence in *Bugles* or *Glass* in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable Circumstance, in the present Juncture, that some Thousand Families are gone, or going, or preparing to go from hence, and settle themselves in *America*: The poorer Sort, for want of Work; the Farmers, whose beneficial Bargains are now become a Rack-Rent too hard to be borne; and those who have any *ready Money*, or can purchase any, by the Sale of their Goods or Leases; because they find their Fortunes hourly decaying, that their Goods will bear no Price; and that few or none have any *Money* to buy the very Necessaries of Life, are hastening to follow their departed Neighbours. It is true, *Corn* among us carries a very high Price; but it is for the same Reason, that *Rats*

Rats and *Cats*, and dead *Horses*, have been often bought for *Gold* in a Town besieged.

There is a Person of Quality in my Neighbourhood, who Twenty Years ago, when he was just come to Age, being unexperienced, and of a generous Temper, lett his Lands, even as Times went then, at a low Rate to able Tenants ; and consequently by the Rise of Land since that Time, looked upon his Estate to be set at half Value : But Numbers of these Tenants, or their Descendants, are now offering to sell their Leases by Cant, even those which were for Lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some Fee-Farms, which the Landlord himself hath bought in at half the Price they would have yielded seven Years ago. And some Leases lett at the same Time for Lives, have been given up to him without any Consideration at all.

This is the most favourable Face of all Things at present among us ; I say, among us of the *North*, who are esteemed the only thriving People of the Kingdom. And how far, and how soon this Misery and Desolation may spread, is easy to foresee.

The vast Sums of *Money* daily carried off, by our numerous Adventurers to *America*, have deprived us of our *Gold* in these Parts, almost as much as of our *Silver*.

And the good Wives, who come to our Houses, offer us their Pieces of Linnen, upon which their whole Dependance lies, for so little Profit,

Profit, that it can neither half pay their Rents, nor half support their Families.

It is remarkable, that this Enthusiasm, spread among our *Northern People*, of sheltering themselves in the Continent of *America*, hath no other Foundation, than their present insupportable Condition at home. I have made all possible Enquiries to learn what Encouragement our People have met with, by any Intelligence from those Plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a Voyage, in all Seasons of the Year; and so ill accommodated in their Ships, that many of them have died miserably in their Passage; but could never get one satisfactory Answer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a Letter to his Friend or Cousin from thence, inviting him, by all Means, to come over; that it was a fine fruitful Country, and to be held for ever at a *Penny* an Acre. But the Truth of the Fact is this: The *English* established in those Colonies, are in great Want of Men to inhabit that Tract of Ground, which lies between them and the *wild Indians*, who are not reduced under their Dominion. We read of some barbarous People whom the *Romans* placed in their Army for no other Service than to blunt their Enemies Swords, and afterwards to fill up Trenches with their dead Bodies. And thus our People, who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent Tracts, as a Screen against the Insults of the *Savages*;

Savages; and may have as much Lands as they can clear from the Woods at a very reasonable Rate, if they can afford to pay about a *Hundred Years Purchase*, by their Labour. Now, besides the *Fox's Reason*, which inclines all those who have already ventured thither, to represent every Thing in a false Light, as well for justifying their own Conduct, as for getting Companions in their Misery: The governing People in those Plantations, have also wisely provided that no Letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither, without being first viewed by the Council; by which, our People here are wholly deceived, in the Opinions they have of the happy Condition of their Friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some Months ago, by an honest Man; who having transported himself and Family thither, and finding all Things directly contrary to his Hope, had the Luck to convey a private Note, by a faithful Hand, to his Relation here; entreating him not to think of such a Voyage, and to discourage all his Friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a Truth well known, hath produced very little Effect, which is no Manner of Wonder: For as it is natural to a Man in a *Fever*, to turn often, although without any Hope of Ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a Precipice, to avoid an Enemy just at his Back; so Men in the extremest Degree of Misery and Want, will naturally fly to the first Appearance of Relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touched the Subject I began with, and with the utmost Caution: For I know how criminal the least Complaint hath been thought, however seasonable or just, or honestly intended; which hath forced me to offer up my daily Prayers, that it may never, at least in my Time, be interpreted by *Inuendo's* as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected Action, for a Man to roar under an acute Fit of the *Gout*; which, besides the Loss and the Danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my Age, so severely afflicted with that Distemper.

I wish you good Success; but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful Office you have taken up, without the least View either to Reputation or Profit. Perhaps your Comfort is, that none but *Villains* and *Betrayers* of their Country, can be your *Enemies*. Upon which I have little to say, having not the Honour to be acquainted with many of that Sort; and therefore, as you easily may believe, am compelled to lead a very retired Life.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient,

umble Servant,

A. NORTH.

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728,

The

*The Reader will perceive the following Treatise
to be altogether ironical.*

A

PROPOSAL, FOR AN ACT of PARLIAMENT To pay off the DEBT of the Na- tion, without Taxing the Sub- JECT.

By which the Number of landed Gentry
and substantial Farmers will be consid-
erably increased, and no Person will be
the poorer, or contribute one Farthing
to the Charge.

Written in the Year 1732.

THE Debts contracted some Years past, for
the Service and Safety of the Nation, are
grown so great, that under our present distres-
sed Condition, by the Want of Trade, the
great Remittances to pay *Absentees*, Regiments
serving abroad, and many other Drains of
Money,

Money, well enough known and felt, the Kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common Methods of Payment : And either a *Poll* or *Land Tax*, would be too odious to think of, especially the latter ; because the Lands which have been let for these Ten or Dozen Years past, were raised so high, that the Owners can, at present, hardly receive any Rent at all. For, it is the usual Practice of an *Irish Tenant*, rather than want Land, to offer more for a Farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay ; and in that Case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *Land Tax*, upon a rack'd Estate, would be a Burthen wholly insupportable.

The Question will then be, how these national Debts can be paid ; and how I can make good the several Particulars of my Proposal ; which I shall now lay open to the Publick.

The Revenues of their Graces and Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops of this Kingdom, (excluding the Fines) do amount by a moderate Computation, to 36,800 *l. per Ann.* I mean the Rents which the Bishops receive from their Tenants. But the real Value of those Lands, at a full Rent, taking the several Sees one with another, is reckoned to be, at least, Three Fourths more ; so that, multiplying 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full Rent of all the Bishops Lands, will amount to 147,200 *l. per Ann.* from which substracting the present Rent received by their Lordships, that is 36,800 *l.* the Profits of the Lands received by

by the first and second Tenants, (who both have great Bargains) will rise to the Sum of 110,400*l. per Ann.* which Lands, if they were to be sold at Twenty-two Years Purchase, would raise a Sum of 2,428,800*l.* reserving to the Bishops their present Rents, only excluding Fines.

Of this Sum I propose, that out of the one Half, which amounts to 1,214,400*l.* so much be applied, as will intirely discharge the Debts of the Nation; and the Remainder be laid up in the Treasury, to supply Contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy Taxes, until the Kingdom shall be in a better Condition.

But whereas the present Set of Bishops would be great Losers by this Scheme, for want of their Fines; which would be hard Treatment to such *religious, loyal, and deserving* Personages; I have therefore set apart the other Half, to supply that Defect; which it will more than sufficiently do.

A Bishop's Lease for the full Term, is reckoned to be worth Eleven Years Purchase; but if we take the Bishops round, I suppose there may be Four Years of each Lease elapsed; and many of the Bishops being well stricken in Years, I cannot think their Lives round to be worth more than Seven Years Purchase; so that the Purchasers may very well afford Fifteen Years Purchase for the Reversion; especially by one great additional Advantage which I shall soon mention.

This Sum of 2,428,800 *l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably ; because the Lands are to be sold only at Fifteen Years Purchase, and this lessens the Sum to about 1,656,000 *l.* of which I propose Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds, to be applied partly for the Payment of the National Debt, and partly as a Fund for future Exigencies ; and the remaining 456,000 *l.* I propose as a Fund for paying the present Set of Bishops their Fines ; which it will abundantly do, and a great Part remain as an Addition to the publick Stock.

Although the Bishops round do not, in Reality, receive Three Fines apiece, which take up 21 Years, yet I allow it to be so ; but then, I will suppose them to take but One Year's Rent, in Recompence for giving them so large a Term of Life ; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the Product will be only 110,400 *l.* so that above Three Fourths will remain to be applied to publick Use.

If I have made wrong Computations, I hope to be excused as a Stranger to the Kingdom ; which I never saw till I was called to an Employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my Days ; but I took Care to get the best Informations I could, and from the most proper Persons ; however the Mistakes I may have been guilty of, will very little affect the Main of my Proposal ; although they should cause a Difference of one Hundred Thousand Pounds more or less.

These Fines are only to be paid to the Bishop during his Incumbency in the same See :

If he change it for a better, the Purchasers of the vacant See Lands, are to come immediately into Possession of the See he hath left; and both the Bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his Place, are to have no more Fines; for the removed Bishop will find his Account by a larger Revenue; and the other See will find Candidates enough. For the Law Maxim will here have Place: *Caveat Emptor*; I mean the Persons who succeed, may chuse whether they will accept or no.

As to the Purchasers, they will probably be Tenants to the See, who are already in Possession, and can afford to give more than any other Bidders.

I will further explain myself. If a Person already a Bishop, be removed into a richer See, he must be content with the bare Revenues, without any Fines; and so must he who comes into a Bishoprick vacant by Death: And this will bring the Matter sooner to bear; which, if the Crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present Set of Bishops; and consequently encourage Purchasers of their Lands. For Example: If a Primate should die, and the Gradation be wisely made, almost the whole Set of Bishops might be changed in a Month, each to his great Advantage, although no Fines were to be got; and thereby save a great Part of that Sum, which I have appropriated towards supplying the Deficiency of Fines.

I have

I have valued the Bishops Lands two Years Purchase above the usual computed Rate, because those Lands will have a Sanction from the King and Council in *England*, and be confirmed by an Act of Parliament here: Besides, it is well known that higher Prices are given every Day for worse Lands, at the remotest Distances, and at Rack-Rents, which I take to be occasioned by the Want of Trade: When there are few Borrowers, and the little Money in private Hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it, but in buying of Land; which consequently makes the Owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the Nation's Debts, the Sale of these Lands would have many other good Effects upon the Nation. It will considerably increase the Number of Gentry, where the Bishops Tenants are not able or willing to purchase; for the Lands will afford an Hundred Gentlemen a good Revenue to each: Several Persons from *England* will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the Buyers, rather than give Thirty Years Purchase at home, under the Loads of Taxes for the Publick and the Poor, as well as Repairs; by which Means, much Money may be brought among us; and probably some of the Purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse Country, rather than be at the Charge of Exchange and Agencies; and perhaps of *Non-solvencies* in Absence, if they let their Lands too high.

This

This Proposal will also multiply Farmers, when the Purchasers will have Lands in their own Power, to give long and easy Leases to industrious Husbandmen.

I have allowed some Bishopricks, of equal Income, to be of more or less Value to the Purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For Instance: The Lands of the Primacy, and some other Sees, are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth Penny of the real Value to the Bishop, and there the Fines are the greater. On the contrary, the Sees of *Meath* and *Clonfert*, consisting, as I am told, much of Tythes, those Tythes are annually let to the Tenants, without any Fines. So the See of *Dublin* is said to have many Fee-Farms, which pay no Fines; and some Leafes for Lives, which pay very little, and not so soon nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their Graces my Lords the Archbishops, and my Lords the Bishops, will heartily join in this Proposal, out of Gratitude to his late and present Majesty, the best of Kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent Stations; as well as in Pity to this Country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the Nation's Debts, without impoverishing themselves, enrich an Hundred Gentlemen as well as free them from Dependence; and thus remove that Envy which is apt to fall upon their Graces and Lordships, from considerable Persons; whose Birth and Fortunes rather qualify them to be

*A PROPOSAL for an
be Lords of Manors, than servile Dependents
upon Churchmen, however dignified or dis-
tinguished.*

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any Law more popular than this. For the immediate Tenants to Bishops, being some of them Persons of Quality, and good Estates; and more of them grown up to be Gentlemen by the Profits of these very Leases, under a Succession of Bishops; think it a Disgrace to be Subject both to Rents and Fines, at the Pleasure of their Landlords. Then, the Bulk of the Tenants, especially the *Dissenters*, who are our *true loyal* Protestant Brethren, look upon it; both as an unnatural and iniquitous Thing, that Bishops should be Owners of Land at all; (wherein I beg to differ from them) being a Point so contrary to the Practice of the Apostles, whose Successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that Land should be sold, for the common Use of the Brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their Feet, to be distributed to poor Proselytes.

I will add one Word more; that by such a wholesome Law, all the Oppressions felt by Under-Tenants of Church Leases, which are now laid on the Bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their Graces and Lordships contenting to have their Lands sold for Payment of the Nation's Debts; reserving only the present Rent for their own plentiful and honourable Support.

I beg

I beg leave to add one Particular ; that, when Heads of a Bill (as I find the Style runs in this Kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this Proposal into a Law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a Power given to every Bishop (except those who reside in *Dublin*) for applying One Hundred Acres of profitable Land, that lies nearest his Palace, as a Demesne for the Convenience of his Family.

I know very well, that this Scheme hath been very much talked of for some Time past, and is in the Thoughts of many Patriots ; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect Stranger in this Kingdom ; yet since I have accepted an Employment here, of some Consequence as well as Profit, I cannot but think myself in Duty bound to consult the Interest of a People, among whom I have been so well received. And if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent Proposal into a Law (which being not in the least injurious to *England*, will, I am confident, meet with no Opposition from that Side) my sincere Endeavours to serve this Church and King, will be well rewarded.

A N

EXAMINATION

O F

*Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and
Enormities, in the City of Dub-
lin.*

Written in the Year 1732.

NOthing is held more commendable in all great Cities, especially the Metropolis of a Kingdom, than what the *French* call the *Police*: By which Word is meant the Government thereof, to prevent the many Disorders occasioned by great Numbers of People and Carriages, especially through narrow Streets. In this Government our famous City of *Dublin* is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome Laws have been enacted to correct those Abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are

are wanting; which I hope the united Wisdom of the Nation (whereof so many good Effects have already appeared this Session) will soon take into their profound Consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own Country, and particularly for that of our renowned City, where (*abit invidia*) I had the Honour to draw my first Breath; I cannot have a Minute's Ease or Patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest Enormities, Abuses, and Corruptions spread almost through every Part of *Dublin*; and proposing such Remedies, as, I hope, the Legislature will approve of.

The narrow Compas to which I have confined myself in this Paper, will allow me only to touch the most important Defects; and such as, I think, seem to require the most speedy Redress.

And first; Perhaps there was never known a wiser Institution than that of allowing certain Persons of both Sexes, in large and populous Cities, to cry thro' the Streets many Necessaries of Life: It would be endless to recount the Conveniencies which our City enjoys by this useful Invention; and particularly Strangers, forced hither by Business, who reside here but a short Time: For, these having usually but little Money, and being wholly ignorant of the Town, might at an easy Price purchase a tolerable Dinner, if the several Criers would pronounce the Names of the Goods they have to sell, in any tolerable Language. And there-

fore until our Law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those Traders pronounce their Words in such Terms, that a plain Christian Hearer may comprehend what is cried; I would advise all new Comers to look out at their Garret Windows, and there see whether the Thing that is cried be *Tripes*, or *Flummery*, *Butter-milk*, or *Cow-heels*. For, as Things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest Countryman, just arrived, to find out what is meant, for Instance, by the following Words, with which his Ears are constantly stunned twice a Day, *Muggs*, *Juggs*, and *Porringers*, *up in the Garret*, and *down in the Cellar*; I say, how is it possible for any Stranger to understand that this Jargon is meant as an Invitation to buy a Farthing's Worth of Milk for his Breakfast or Supper, unless his Curiosity draws him to the Window, or until his Landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one Instance, among a Hundred much worse: I mean where the Words make a Sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much Disturbance, and so little Information.

The Affirmation solemnly made in the Cry of *Herrings*, is directly against all Truth and Probability; *Herrings alive, alive bere*; the very Proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary Speech, than to say of some Neighbour for whom the Passing-Bell rings, that *he is dead as a Herring*. And, pray how is it possible, that a *Herring*, which, as *Philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than

one

one Minute, three Seconds and a half out of Water, should bear a Voyage in open Boats from *Howth* to *Dublin*, be tossed into twenty Hands, and preserve its Life in Sieves for several Hours ? Nay, we have Witnesses ready to produce, that many Thousands of these *Herrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a Day and a Night upon dry Land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious Wretches, who dare in the Face of the Sun, vouch the very same Affirmative of their *Salmon*, and cry *Salmon alive, alive* ; whereas, if you call the Woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her Mantle, and shew you this individual *Salmon* cut into a dozen Pieces. I have given good Advice to these infamous Disgracers of their Sex and Calling, without the least Appearance of Remorse ; and fully against the Conviction of their own Consciences. I have mentioned this Grievance to several of our Parish Ministers ; but all in vain : So that it must continue until the Government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another *Cry*, which from the strictest Observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *Sweet-hearts* ; and is plainly intended for a Reflection upon the Female Sex ; as if there were at present so great a Dearth of Lovers, that the Women, instead of receiving Presents from Men, were

* *A Sort of Sugar-cakes in the Shape of Hearts.*

now forced to offer Money, to purchase *Sweethearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *Cry* doth not glance at some Disaffection against the Government ; insinuating, that while so many of our Troops are engaged in foreign Service ; and such a great Number of our gallant Officers constantly reside in *England*, the Ladies are forced to take up with *Parsons* and *Attornies* : But this is a most unjust Reflection ; as may soon be proved by any Person who frequents the *Castle*, our publick Walks, our Balls and Assemblies ; where the Crowds of † *Toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a *Cry* peculiar to this City, which I do not remember to have been used in *London* ; or at least, not in the same Terms that it hath been practised by both Parties, during each of their Power ; but, very unjustly by the *Tories*. While these were at the Helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *Whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of Employments. To effect which, they hired certain ordinary Fellows with large Baskets on their Shoulders, to call aloud at every House, *Dirt to carry out* ; giving that Denomination to our whole Party ; as if they would signify, that the Kingdom could never be *cleansed*, until we were *swept* from the Earth like *Rubbish*. But, since that happy Turn of Times, when

• † *A new Name for a modern Periwig, and for its Owner* ; now in Fashion, Dec. 1, 1733.

we were so miraculously preserved, by just an Inch, from *Popery, Slavery, Massacre*, and the *Pretender*, I must own it is Prudence in us, still to go on with the same Cry; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political Dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper Dunghills, there to corrupt, and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other Enormities: Every Person who walks the Streets, must needs observe an immense Number of human Excrements, at the Doors and Steps of waste Houses, and at the Sides of every dead Wall; for which the disaffected Party hath assigned a very false and malicious Cause: They would have it, that these Heaps were laid there privately by *British Fundaments*, to make the World believe, that our *Irish Vulgar* do daily eat and drink; and, consequently, that the Clamour of Poverty among us, must be false; proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *Papists*. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a *British Anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own Country, and many of these Excrements, upon a strict View appearing Copple-crowned with a Point like a Cone or Pyramid, are easily distinguished from the *Hibernian*, which lie much flatter, and with less Continuity. I communicated this Conjecture to an eminent Physician, who is well versed in such profound Speculations; and at my Request was pleased to make Tryal with each of his Fingers, by thrusting them into the *Anus* of several Persons

sions of both Nations ; and professed he could find no such Difference between them as those ill-disposed People alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater Number of narrow Cavities were of *Hibernian* Origin. This I only mention to shew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any Handle to express their Malice against the Government. I had almost forgot to add, that my Friend the Physician could, by smelling each Finger, distinguish the *Hibernian* Excrement from the *British*, and was not above twice mistaken in an Hundred Experiments ; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned Dissertation.

There is a Diversion in this City, which usually begins among the *Butchers* ; but is often continued by a Succession of other People, through many Streets ; it is called the C O S- S I N G of a Dog : And I may justly number it among our Corruptions. The Ceremony is thus : A strange Dog happens to pass through a Flesh-Market ; whereupon an expert *Butcher* immediately cries in a loud Voice, and the proper Tone, *Coss, Coss*, several Times. The same Word is repeated by the People. The Dog, who perfectly understands the Terms of Art, and consequently the Danger he is in, immediately flies. The People, and even his own *Brother Animals* pursue : The Pursuit and Cry attend him perhaps half a Mile ; he is well worried in his Flight ; and sometimes hardly escapes : This, our Ill-wishers

wishers of the Jacobite Kind, are pleased to call a *Persecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *Dogs* of the *Tory* Principle. But we can well defend ourselves, by justly alledging, that, when they were uppermost, they treated our *Dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own Part, who have in former Times often attended these *Processions*, although I can very well distinguish between a *Whig* and *Tory Dog*, yet I never carried my Resentments very far from a *Party Principle*, except it were against certain malicious *Dogs*, who most discovered their Enmity against us in the *worst of Times*. And, I remember too well, that in the wicked Ministry of the Earl of *Oxford*, a large *Mastiff* of our Party, being unmercifully *coffed*, ran, without Thinking, between my Legs, as I was coming up *Fishamble-street*; and, as I am of low Stature, with very short Legs, bore me riding backwards down the Hill, for above two Hundred Yards: And, although I made use of his Tail for a Bridle, holding it fast with both my Hands, and clung my Legs as close to his Sides as I could; yet we both came down together into the Middle of the *Kennel*; where after rolling three or four times over each other, I got up, with much ado, amidst the Shouts and *Huzza's* of a Thousand malicious *Jacobites*. I cannot, indeed, but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other *Services* and *Sufferings*, I have been since more than over-paid.

This

This Adventure may, perhaps, have put me out of Love with the *Diversion of Coffing*, which I confess myself an Enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *Tory Dogs*; whereof great Numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their Principles, and are now justly esteemed the best *Worriers* of their former Friends.

I am assured and partly know, that all the Chimney-Sweepers Boys, where Members of P----t chiefly lodge, are hired by *our Enemies* to sculk in the Tops of Chimneys, with their Heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual Hours when Members are going to the House, if they see a Coach stand near the Lodging of any *loyal* Member, they call *Coach, Coach*, as loud as they can bawl, just at the Instant when the Footman begins to give the same Call. And this is chiefly done on those Days, when any Point of Importance is to be debated. This Practice may be of very dangerous Consequence: For, these Boys are all hired by *Enemies* to the Government: And thus, by the Absence of a few Members for a few Minutes, a *Question* may be carried against the *true Interest* of the Kingdom; and, very probably, not without an Eye towards the *Pretender*.

I have not observed the Wit and Fancy of this Town so much employed in any one Article as that of contriving Variety of Signs to hang over Houses where *Punch* is to be sold.

The

The Bowl is represented full of *Punch*, the Ladle stands erect in the Middle, supported sometimes by one, and sometimes by two Animals, whose Feet rest upon the Edge of the Bowl. These Animals are sometimes one black *Lion*, and sometimes a Couple; sometimes a single *Eagle*, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a *Crow*, a *Swan*, a *Bear*, or a *Cock*, in the same Posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these Animals, either separate, or in Conjunction, are, properly speaking, fit Emblems or Embellishments, to advance the Sale of *Punch*. Besides, it is agreed among *Naturalists*, that no Brute can endure the Taste of strong Liquor, except where he hath been used to it from his Infancy: And, consequently, it is against all the Rules of *Hieroglyph*, to assign those Animals as Patrons or Protectors of *Punch*. For, in that Case, we ought to suppose that the Host keeps always ready the real Bird, or Beast, whereof the Picture hangs over his Door, to entertain his Guests; which, however, to my Knowledge, is not true in Fact; not one of those Birds being a proper Companion for a *Christian*, as to aiding and assisting in making the *Punch*. For as they are drawn upon the Sign, they are much more likely to mute, or fled their Feathers into the Liquor. Then, as to the *Bear*, he is too terrible, awkward, and Novenly a Companion to converse with; neither are any of them all *handy* enough to fill Liquor to the Company: I do,

do, therefore, vehemently suspect a *Plot* intended against the Government, by these Devices. For, although the *Spread-Eagle* be the Arms of *Germany*, upon which Account it may possibly be a lawful *Protestant* Sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair *Outsides*, in a Matter which so nearly concerns our Welfare, cannot but call to Mind, that the *Pretender's* Wife is said to be of *German* Birth: And that many *Popish* Princes, in so vast an Extent of Land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking *Punch*: Besides, it is plain, that the *Spread-Eagle* exhibits to us the perfect Figure of a *Cross*; which is a Badge of *Popery*. Then, as to the *Cock*, he is well known to represent the *French* Nation, our old and dangerous Enemy. The *Swan*, who must of necessity cover the entire Bowl with his Wings, can be no other than the *Spaniard*, who endeavours to engross all the Treasures of the *Indies* to himself. The *Lion* is indeed the common Emblem of Royal Power, as well as the Arms of *England*; but to paint him black, is perfect *Jacobitism*, and a manifest Type of those who *slacken* the Actions of the best Princes. It is not easy to distinguish whether that other Fowl painted over the *Punch Bowl* be a *Crow* or a *Raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous Birds: But I rather take it to be the former; because it is the Disposition of a *Crow*, to pick out the Eyes of other Creatures; and often even of *Christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here, with a Design to put

put the *Jacobites* in Mind of their old Practice, first to lull us asleep (which is an Emblem of Death) and then to blind our Eyes, that we may not see their dangerous Practices against the State.

To speak my private Opinion ; the least offensive Picture in the whole Sett, seems to be the *Bear* ; because he represents *Ursa Major*, or the *Great Bear*, who presides over the *North*, where the *Reformation* first began ; and which, next to *Britain* (including *Scotland* and the *North of Ireland*) is the great Protector of the *true Protestant Religion*. But however, in those Signs where I observe the *Bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* Contrivance ; by which, these *Traytors* hint an earnest Desire of using all *true Whigs*, as their Predecessors did the primitive Christians : I mean, to represent us as *Bears*, and then halloo their *Tory-Dogs* to bait us to Death.

Thus I have given a fair Account of what I dislike, in all the Signs set over those Houses that invite us to *Punch*. I own it was a Matter that did not need explaining ; being so very obvious to common Understanding ; yet, I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal Blindness to overspread our corporeal Eyes, as well as our intellectual ; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false Prophet. For these are not bare Suspicions, but manifest Demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these *Popish, Jacobite, and idolatrous Gew-gaws*. And I heartily wish

wish a Law were enacted, under severe Penalties, against drinking *Punch* at all ; for nothing is easier, than to prove it a disaffected Liquor : The chief Ingredients, which are *Brandy*, *Oranges* and *Lemons*, are all sent us from *Popish* Countries ; and nothing remains of *Protestant* Growth, but *Sugar* and *Water*. For, as to *Biscuit*, which formerly was held a necessary Ingredient, and is truly *British*, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the Truth of my Assertion past all Doubt : I mean, that this Liquor is, by one important Innovation, grown of ill Example, and dangerous Consequence to the Publick. It is well known, that, by the true original Institution of making *Punch*, left us by Captain *Ratcliff*, the Sharpness is only occasioned by the Juice of *Lemons* ; and so continued until after the happy *Revolution*. *Oranges*, alas ! are a mere Innovation, and, in a manner, *but of Yesterday*. It was the Politicks of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually ; And, to what Intent ? The Thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their Virulence against his sacred Majesty King *William of ever glorious and immortal Memory*. But of late (to shew how fast Disloyalty increaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *Oranges* ; nay, at present, we often find *Punch* made all with *Oranges*, and not one single *Lemon*. For the *Jacobites*, before the Death of that immortal Prince, had, by a Superstition, formed a private Prayer, that as they *squeezed* the *Orange*,

Orange, so might that Protestant King be squeezed to Death: According to the known Sorcery described by *Virgil*;

Limus ut hic durescit, & haec ut cera liquescit, &c.

And, thus the *Romans*, when they sacrificed an Ox, used this Kind of Prayer: *As I have down this Ox, so may thou, O Jupiter! do down our Enemies.* In like Manner, when King *William's* Death, whenever a Protestant squeezed an *Orange*, he had a mortal Curse upon the glorious Memory, and a heavy Wish for Power to squeeze all his Majesty's Friends to Death, as he squeezed that *Orange*, which bore one of his Titles, as he was Prince of *Orange*. This I do affirm for Truth; many of that Faction having confessed it to me, under an *Oath of Secrecy*, which, however, I thought it my Duty not to keep, when I saw my dear Country in Danger. But what better can be expected from an *impious* Set of Men, who never scruple to drink *CONFUSION* to all *true Protestants*, under the Name of *Whigs*? A most unchristian and inhuman Practice; which, to our great Honour and Comfort, was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious *Detractors*.

The Sign of two *Angels* hovering in the Air, and with their Right Hands supporting a *Crown*, is met with in several Parts of this City; and hath often given me great Offence; For, whether by the Unskilfulness, or dange-

rous Principles of the Painters (although I have good Reasons to suspect the latter) those *Angels* are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *Countenances*, that they give great Offence to every loyal Eye; and equal Cause of Triumph to the *Jacobite*, being a most infamous Reflection upon our able and excellent Ministry.

I now return to that great Enormity of City *Cries*; most of which we have borrowed from *London*. I shall consider them only in a *political* View, as they nearly affect the Peace and Safety of both Kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked *Machiavels*, to bring in *Popery*, *Slavery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, by defeating the *Protestant Succession*, and introducing the *Pretender*; ought, in Justice, to be here laid open to the World.

About two or three Months after the happy *Revolution*, all Persons who possess'd any Employment or Office, in Church or State, were obliged by an *Act of Parliament* to take the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*: And a great Number of disaffected Persons refusing to take the said Oaths, from a pretended Scruple of Conscience, but really from a Spirit of *Popery* and Rebellion, they contrived a Plot, to make the swearing to those Princes odious in the Eyes of the People. To this End, they hired certain Women of ill Fame, but loud shrill Voices, under Pretence of selling Fish, to go through the Streets, with Sieves on their Heads, and cry, *Buy my Soul, Buy my Soul*; plainly

plainly insinuating, that all those who swore to King *William*, were just ready to sell their *Souls* for an Employment. This Cry was revived at the Death of Queen *Anne*, and, I hear, still continues in *London*, with much Offence to all true *Protestants*; but, to our great Happiness, seems to be almost dropt in *Dublin*.

But because I altogether contemn the Displeasure and Resentment of *High Flyers*, *Tories*, and *Jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worse even than profess'd Papists*, I do here declare, that those Evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the * *worst of Time*, under the late Earl of *Oxford's* Administration, during the four last Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign. That wicked Minister was universally known to be a *Papist* in his Heart. He was of a most avaritious Nature, and is said to have died worth four Millions Sterl. besides his vast Expences in Building, Statues, Plate, Jewels, and other costly Rarities. He was of a mean obscure Birth, from the very Dregs of the People; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a Paper at the Council Table. I forbear to touch at his open prophane, profligate Life; because I desire not to rake into the Ashes of the Dead: And therefore I shall observe this wise Maxim; *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

* A Cant Word used by *Whigs* for the four last Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign, during the Earl of *Oxford's* Ministry; whose Character here is an exact Reverse in every Particular.

This flagitious Man, in order to compass his black Designs, employed certain wicked Instruments (which great Statesmen are never without) to adapt several *London Cries*, in such a Manner as would best Answer his Ends. And, whereas it was, upon good Grounds, grievously suspected, that all *Places* at Court were sold to the highest Bidder; certain Women were employed by his Emissaries, to carry *Fish* in Baskets on their Heads, and bawl through the Streets, *Buy my fresh Places*. I must, indeed, own that other Women used the same Cry, who were innocent of this wicked Design, and really sold their Fish of that Denomination, to get an honest Livelihood; but the rest, who were in the *Secret*, although they carried *Fish* in their Sieves or Baskets, to save Appearances; yet they had likewise a certain Sign, somewhat resembling that of the *Free-Masons*, which the Purchasers of *Places* knew well enough, and were directed by the Women whither they were to resort, and make their Purchase. And, I remember very well how oddly it look'd, when we observed many Gentlemen finely dress'd, about the Court-End of the Town, and as far as *York-buildings*, where the Lord Treasurer of *Oxford* dwelt, calling the Women who cried, *Buy my fresh Places*, and talking to them in the Corner of a Street, until they understood each other's Sign. But we never could observe that any Fish was bought.

Some Years before the Cries last mentioned, the Duke of *Savoy* was reported to have made certain

certain Overtures to the Court of *England*, for admitting his eldest Son, by the Dutchesse of *Orleans*'s Daughter, to succeed to the Crown, as next Heir, upon the *Pretender*'s being rejected; and that Son was immediately to turn *Protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great Numbers of People disaffected to the then *Illustrious* but now *Royal* House of *Hanover*, were in those Measures. Whereupon, another Sett of Women were hired by the *Jacobite* Leaders, to cry through the whole Town, *Buy my Savoys, dainty Savoys, curious Savoys.* But I cannot directly charge the late Earl of *Oxford* with this *Conspiracy*, because he was not then chief Minister. However, this wicked Cry still continues in *London*, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this Day; and is, in my humble Opinion, a very offensive Sound to every true *Protestant*, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* Times.

During the Ministry of that corrupt and *Jacobite* Earl above-mentioned, the secret pernicious Designs of those in Power, was to sell *Flanders* to *France*: The Consequence of which must have been the infallible Ruin of the *States-General*, and would have opened the Way for *France* to obtain that uniyersal Monarchy they have so long aimed at; to which the *British* Dominions must, next after *Holland*, have been compelled to submit. Whereby the *Protestant* Religion would be rooted out of the World.

A Design of this vast Importance, after long Consultation among the *Jacobite* Grandees

with the Earl of *Oxford* at their Head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same Method with the former: It was therefore again put in Practice; but the Conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen Men, whose Voices were louder and stronger than those of the other Sex: And upon this Occasion was first instituted in *London* that famous Cry of **FLOUNDERS**. But the Criers were particularly directed to pronounce the Word *Flaunders*, and not *Flounders*. For, the Country which we now by Corruption call *Flanders*, is in its true Orthography spelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old *English* Books: I say, from hence begun that thundering Cry, which hath ever since stunned the Ears of all *London*, made so many Children fall into Fits, and Women miscarry; *Come buy my fresh Flaunders, curious Flaunders, charming Flaunders, alive, alive, ho*; which last Words can with no Propriety of Speech be applied to Fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in *Herrings* and *Salmon*) but very justly to Ten Provinces, containing many Millions of living *Christians*. But the Application is still closer, when we consider that all the People were to be taken like *Fishes* in a Net; and, by Assistance of the *Pope*, who sets up to be the *universal Fisher of Men*, the whole innocent Nation was, according to our common Expression, to be *laid as flat as a Flounder*.

I remember, myself, a particular Crier of *Flounders* in *London*, who arrived at so much Fame

Fame for the Loudness of his Voice, as to have the Honour of being mentioned, upon that Account, in a Comedy. He hath disturbed me many a Morning, before he came within Fifty Doors of my Lodging : And although I were not, in those Days, so fully apprized of the Designs which our common Enemy had then in Agitation ; yet, I know not how, by a secret Impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong Dislike against the Fellow ; and often said to myself, *This Cry seems to be forged in the Jesuits School: Alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken if there be not some Popish Plot at the Bottom.* I communicated my Thoughts to an intimate Friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my Speculations : But it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked Faction could have procured only a Thousand Men, of as strong Lungs as the Fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the Consequences might have been, not only to these two Kingdoms, but over all *Europe*, by selling *Flanders* to *France*. And yet these Cries continue unpunished, both in *London* and *Dublin* ; altho', I confess, not with equal Vehemency or Loudness ; because the Reason for contriving this desperate Plot, is, to our great Felicity, wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the Majority of the *British* House of Commons, in the last Years of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, were in their Hearts directly opposite to the Earl of *Oxford*'s pernicious

rious Measures ; which put him under the Necessity of bribing them with Salaries. Whereupon he had again Recourse to his old Politicks. And accordingly, his Emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful Women, of no good Life and Conversation, (as it was fully proved before Justice * *Peyton*) to cry that Vegetable commonly called *Sellery*, thro' the Town. These Women differ from the common Criers of that Herb, by some private Mark which I could never learn ; but the Matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of ; and about the same Period was the Cry of *Sellery* brought over into this Kingdom. But since there is not, at this present, the least Occasion to suspect the Loyalty of our Criers upon that Article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one Cry more, which hath any Reference to Politicks ; but is, indeed, of all others the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy Establishment ; I mean that of *Turnups* ; not of *Turnips*, according to the best Orthography, but absolutely *Turnups*. Altho' the Cry be of an older Date than some of the preceding Encermities, for it began soon after the Revolution ; yet was it never known to arrive at so great an Height, as during the Earl of *Oxford's* Power. Some People (whom I take to be private Enemies) are, indeed, as ready as myself to profess their

* A famous Whig Justice in those Times.

Disapprobation of this Cry, on Pretence that it began by the Contrivance of certain old Pro-cureesses, who kept Houses of ill Fame, where lewd Women met to draw young Men into Vice. And this they pretend to prove by some Words in the Cry; because, after the Crier had bawled out, *Turnups, ho, buy my dainty Turnups*, he would sometimes add the two following Verses,

*Turn up the Mistress, and turn up the Maid,
And turn up the Daughter, and be not afraid.*

This, say some political Sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a Cry, than an Invitation to Lewdness; which, indeed, ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated Governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a Crime of State. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this Time of Day with such poor Evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very Time when those two Verses were composed, and name the Author, who was no other than the famous Mr. *Swan*, so well known for his Talent at Quibbling, and was as virulent a *Jacobite* as any in *England*. Neither could he deny the Fact, when he was taxed for it in my Presence, by Sir *Henry Dutton-Colt*, and Colonel *Davenport*, at the *Smyrna* Coffee-house, on the 10th of *June*, 1701. Thus it appears to a Demonstration, that those Verses were only a Blind to conceal the

the most dangerous Designs of the Party, who, from the first Years after the happy Revolution, used a Cant-way of talking in their Clubs, after this Manner: *We hope to see the Cards shuffled once more, and another King TURN UP Trump: And, When shall we meet over a Dish of TURNUPS?* The same Term of Art was used in their Plots against the Government, and in their treasonable Letters writ in Cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the Trials of those Times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a Light; because the *Scotch* and *French* Authors have given a very different Account of the Word *TURNUP*; but whether out of Ignorance or Partiality, I shall not decree; because I am sure the Reader is convinced by my Discovery. It is to be observed, that this Cry was sung in a particular Manner, by Fellows in Disguise, to give Notice where those Traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villainous Designs.

I have no more to add upon this Article, than an humble Proposal, that those who cry this Root at present in our Streets of *Dublin*, may be compelled, by the Justices of the Peace, to pronounce *Turnip*, and not *Turnup*; for, I am afraid, we have still too many Snakes in our Bosom, and it would be well if their Cellars were sometimes searched, when the Owners least expect it; for I am not out of Fear, that *Latet Anguis in Herba.*

Thus,

Thus, we are zealous in Matters of small Moment, while we neglect those of the highest Importance. I have already made it manifest, that all these Cries were contrived in the *worst of Times*, under the Ministry of that desperate Statesman, *Robert late Earl of Oxford*; and for that very Reason ought to be rejected with Horror, as begun in the Reign of *Jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the Rags of *Popery*, and *Treason*: Or, if it be thought proper, that these Cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the Hands of *true Protestants* who have given Security to the Government.



To

To the HONOURABLE
House of COMMONS, &c.

*The humble PETITION of the
Footmen in and about the City of
DUBLIN.*

Written in the Year 1732.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are a great and numerous Society, endowed with several Privileges, Time out of Mind.

That certain *lewd, idle, and disorderly* Persons, for several Months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the publick Walks of this City, habited sometimes in *Green Coats*, and sometimes *laced*, with long *Oaken Cudgels* in their Hands, and without Swords; in Hopes to procure Favour by that Advantage, with a great Number of Ladies, who frequent those Walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be true genuine *Irish Footmen*; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *Toupees*; as a judicious Eye may soon discover, by their *awkward, clumsy, ungenteel* Gait, and Beha-

Behaviour; by their Unskilfulness in Dress, even with the Advantage of our Habits; by their ill-favoured Countenances; with an Air of *Impudence* and *Dulness* peculiar to the rest of their Brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent Pitch of Assurance; altho' it may be justly apprehended, that they will do so in Time, if these *Counterfeits* shall happen to succeed in their evil Design, of passing for *real Footmen*, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the Ladies.

Your *Petitioners* do farther alledge, that many of the said *Counterfeits*, upon a strict Examination, have been found in the Act of *strutting, staring, swearing, swaggering*, in a manner that plainly shewed their best Endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, altho' they did not succeed; yet by their ignorant and ungainly Way of copying our Graces, the utmost Indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole Profession.

Your *Petitioners* do therefore make it their humble Request, that this *Honourable House* (to many of whom your *Petitioners* are nearly *allied*) will please to take this Grievance into your most serious Consideration: Humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain *Officers* might, at the Publick Charge, be employed to search for, and discover all such *Counterfeit Footmen*, to carry them before the next *Justice of Peace*; by whose Warrant, upon the first Conviction, they should be stripped of their *Coats* and *Oaken Ornaments*, and be set two

Hours in the Stocks. Upon the second Conviction, besides Stripping, be set six Hours in the Stocks, with a Paper pinned on their Breasts, signifying their Crime, in large Capital Letters, and in the following Words: *A. B. commonly called A. B. Esq; a Toupee, and a notorious Impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish Footman.*

And for any other Offence, the said *Toupee* shall be committed to *Bridewell*, whipped three Times, forced to hard Labour for a Month, and not to be set at Liberty, till he shall give sufficient Security for his good Behaviour.

Your *Honours* will please to observe, with what Lenity we propose to treat these enormous Offenders, who have already brought such a Scandal on our *Honourable Calling*, that several well-meaning People have mistaken them to be of our *Fraternity*; in Diminution to that Credit and Dignity whereby we have supported our Station, as we always did, in the *worst of Times*. And we farther beg Leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a *sedition* Design, to render us less capable of serving the *Publick* in any great Employments, as several of our *Fraternity*, as well as our *Ancestors* have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your *Honours* to give necessary Orders for our Relief in this present Exigency, and your *Petitioners* (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, 1732.

THE

THE ADVANTAGES

Proposed by

Repealing the *Sacramental Test*,
Impartially considered.

Written in the Year 1732.

WHoever writes impartially upon this Subject, must do it not only as a mere secular Man; but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular System of Christianity. And, I think, in whatever Country that Religion predominates, there is one certain Form of Worship and Ceremony, which is looked upon as the Established; and consequently only the Priests of that particular Form, are maintained at the publick Charge; and all civil Employments bestowed among those who comply (at least outwardly) with the same Establishment.

That Method is strictly observed, even by our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who are confessed to

allow the fullest Liberty of Conscience, of any Christian State; and yet are never known to admit any Persons into Civil Offices, who do not conform to the legal Worship. As to their Military Men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being, by the Nature of their Government, under a Necessity of hiring foreign Troops of whatever religious Denomination, upon every great Emergency; and maintaining no small Number in Time of Peace.

This Caution, therefore, of making one Established Faith, seems to be universal, and founded upon the strongest Reasons; the mistaken or affected Zeal of Obstinacy and Enthusiasm, having produced such a Number of horrible destructive Events, throughout all *Christendom*. - For, whoever begins to think the National Worship is wrong, in any important Article of Practice or Belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a Zeal to make as many Proselytes as he can: And a Nation may possibly have an hundred different Sects with their Leaders; every one of which hath an equal Right to plead, that they must *obey God rather than Man*; must *cry aloud and spare not*; must *lift up their Voice like a Trumpet*.

This was the very Case of *England*, during the Fanatick Times. And against all this, there seems to be no Defence, but that of supporting one established Form of Doctrine and Discipline, leaving the rest to a bare Liberty of Conscience; but without any Maintenance or Encouragement from the Publick.

Where,

Wherever this National Religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great Majority of landed People, joined to the governing Party, whether Prince or Senate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the Work might be done without Blood or Confusion. Yet, whenever such a Change shall be made, some other Establishment must succeed, altho' for the worse; allowing all Deviations that would break the Union, to be only tolerated. In this Sense, those who affirm that every Law which is contrary to the Law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken. For, many Laws in *Popish* Kingdoms and States, many more among the *Turks*, and perhaps not a few in other Countries, are directly against the Divine Laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive Part.

Thus, for Instance, If the three Estates of Parliament in *England* (whereof the Lords Spiritual, who represent the *Church*, are one) should agree and obtain the Royal Assent to abolish Episcopacy, together with the Liturgy, and the whole Frame of the *English* Church, as burthensome, dangerous, and contrary to *Holy Scripture*; and that *Presbytery*, *Anabaptism*, *Quakerism*, *Independency*, *Muggletonianism*, *Brownism*, *Familism*, or any other subdivided Sect among us, should be established in its Place; without Question, all peaceable Subjects ought passively to submit; and the predominant Sect must become the Religion established; the Publick maintaining no other Teach-

222 *The Advantages proposed by*
ers, nor admitting any Persons of a different
religious Profession, into Civil Offices ; at least,
if their Intention be to preserve the Nation in
Peace.

Supposing then, that the present System of
Religion were abolished ; and *Presbytery*,
which I find stands the fairest, with its Sy-
nods and Classes, and all its Forms and Cere-
monies, essential or circumstantial, were erect-
ed into the National Worship : Their Teach-
ers, and no others, could have any legal Claim,
to be supported at the publick Charge, whether
by Stipends or Tythes ; and only the rest of
the same Faith to be capable of Civil Employ-
ments.

If there be any true Reasoning in what I
have laid down, it shouold seem that the Project
now in Agitation for repealing the *Test Act*,
and yet leaving the Name of an Establishment
to the present National Church, is altogether
inconsistent ; and may admit of Consequences,
which those, who are the most indifferent to
any Religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the *Test* shall be repeal-
ed, which obliges all Men, who enter into Of-
fice under the Crown, to receive the Sacrament
according to the Rites of the Church of *Ire-
land* ; the Way to Employments will imme-
diately be left open to all *Dissenters*, (except
Papists) whose Consciences can suffer them to
take the common Oaths, in such Cases prescrib-
ed ; after which, they are qualified to fill any
Lay-Station in this Kingdom, from that of
Chief Governor, to an Excise-Man.

Thus,

Thus, of the three Judges on each Bench, the first may be a *Presbyterian*, the second a *Free-will Baptist*, and the third a *Churchman*; the *Lord Chancellor* may be an *Independent*; the Revenues may be managed by seven Commissioners of as many different Sects; and the like of all other Employments. Not to mention the strong Probability, that the Lawfulness of taking Oaths may be *revealed* to the *Quakers*, who then will stand upon as good a Foot for Preferment, as any other loyal Subject. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motly Administration of Affairs, what a clashing there will be of Interest and Inclinations; what Pullings and Hawlings backwards and forwards; what a Zeal and Byass in each Religionist, to advance his own Tribe, and depress the others. For, I suppose, nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most Men are in Faith and Morals, yet, whether out of Artifice, natural Complexion, or Love of Contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own Opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publickly shew the least Sense either of Religion or common Honesty.

As to the latter, Bishop *Burnet* tells us, that the *Presbyterians*, in the Fanatick Times, professed themselves to be above Morality; which, as we find in some of their Writings, was numbered among the *beggarly Elements*: And accordingly, at this Day, no Scruples of Conscience, with regard to Conformity, are, in any Trade

Trade or Calling, inconsistent with the greatest Fraud, Oppression, Perjury, or any other Vice.

This brings to my Memory a Passage in *Montaigne*, of a common Prostitute, who, in the storming of a Town, when a Soldier came up to her Chamber, and offered Violence to her Chastity, rather chose to venture her Neck by leaping out of the Window than suffer a Rape; yet still continued her Trade of Lewdness, while she had any Customers left.

I confess, that, in my private Judgment, an unlimited* Permission of all Sects whatsoever (except *Papists*) to enjoy Employments, would be less pernicious to the publick than a fair Struggle between two Contenders; because in the former Case, such a Jumble of Principles, might possibly have the Effect of contrary Poisons mingled together; which a strong Constitution might perhaps be able for some Time to survive.

But, however, I shall take the other and more probable Supposition, that this Battle for Employments is to be only between the *Presbyterians*, and those of the Church *yet* established. I shall not enter into the Merits of either Side, by examining which of the two is the better spiritual Oeconomy, or which is most suited to our Civil Constitution: But the Question turns upon this Point; when the *Presbyterians* shall have got their Share of Employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not, by their own Principles,

ple, and by the strictest Rules of Conscience, to use the utmost of their Skill, Power, and Influence, in order to reduce the whole Kingdom to an Uniformity in Religion, both as to Doctrine and Discipline, most agreeable to the Word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without Blood (as under the present Disposition of Things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied: Only I would warn them of a few Difficulties. The first is; for compromising among themselves that important Controversy about the *Old Light* and the *New*; which otherwise may, after this Establishment, split them as wide as *Papist* and *Protestant*, *Whig* and *Tory*, or *Churchman* and *Nonconformist*; and consequently the Work will be to begin again. For in religious Quarrels, it is of little Moment how few or small the Differences are; especially when the Dispute is only about Power. Thus the zealous *Presbyterians* of the *North* are more alienated from the established Clergy, than from the *Romish* Priests; taxing the former with idolatrous Worship, as disguised *Papists*, *Ceremony-mongers*, and many other Terms of Art; and this for a very powerful Reason; because the Clergy stand in their Way, which the *Papist* Priests do not. Thus I am assured that the Quarrel between *Old* and *New-Light Men*, is managed with more Rage and Rancour, than any other Dispute of the highest Importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several Congregations, from whom they receive their Contributions.

Another

Another Difficulty, which may embarrass the *Presbyterians* after their Establishment, will be, how to adjust their Claim of the *Kirk's* Independence on the Civil Power, with the Constitution of this Monarchy ; a Point so delicate, that it hath often filled the Heads of great Patriots with dangerous Notions of the Church-Clergy, without the least Ground of Suspicion.

As to the *Presbyterians* allowing Liberty of Conscience to those of Episcopal Principles, when their own *Kirk* shall be predominant ; their Writers are so universally agreed in the Negative, as well as their Practice during *Oliver's* Reign, that I believe no reasonable Churchman (who must then be a *Dissenter*) will expect it.

I shall here take Notice, that in the Division of Employments among the *Presbyterians*, after this approaching Repeal of the *Test-Act* ; supposing them, in proper Time, to have an equal Share, I compute the Odds will be three or four to one on their Side, in any farther Scheme they may have towards making their Religion national. For, I reckon all those Gentlemen sent over from *England*, whatever Religion they profess or have been educated in, to be of that Party : Since it is no Mark of Prudence, for any Persons to oppose the Current of a Nation, where they are in some Sort only Sojourners ; unless they *have it in Direction*.

If there be any Maxim in Politicks, not to be controvuled, it must be the following : That those

those whose private Interest is united with the Interest of their Country, supposing them to be of equal Understanding with the rest of their Neighbours, will heartily wish, that the Nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all Persons who are sent from another Kingdom, to be employed in Places of Profit or Power ; because they can possibly bear no Affection to the Place where they sojourn, even for Life ; their sole Business being to advance themselves, by following the Advice of their *Principals*. I except likewise those Persons who are taken into Offices, although Natives of the Land ; because they are greater Gainers while they keep their Offices, than they could possibly be by mending the miserable Condition of their Country.

I except, Thirdly, all Hopers, who, by ballancing Accounts with themselves, turn the Scale on the same Side ; because the strong Expectation of a good certain Salary, will outweigh the Loss by bad Rents, received out of Lands in Money-less Times.

If my Lords the Bishops, who, I hear, are now employed in a Scheme for regulating the Conduct and Maintenance of the inferior Clergy, shall, in their Wisdom and Piety, and Love of the Church, consent to this Repeal of the *Test*, I have not the least Doubt, that the whole Reverend Body will chearfully submit to their spiritual Fathers ; of whose paternal Tenderness for their Welfare they have already found so many *amazing* Instances.

I am

I am not, therefore, under the least Concern about the Clergy on this Account. They will (*for some Time*) be no great Sufferers by this Repeal; because I cannot recollect among all our Sects any one that giveth Latitude enough to take the Oaths required at an Institution to a Church-Living; and until that Bar shall be removed, the present Episcopal Clergy are safe for two Years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the *Northern* Parts, where there may be three *Dissenters* to one *Churchman*, the whole Revenue shall be engrossed by Him who hath so small a Part of the Cure.

It is true, indeed, that this Disadvantage which the *Dissenters* at present lie under, of a Disability to receive Church-Preferments, will be easily remedied by the Repeal of the *Test*. For the *Dissenting* Teachers are under no Incapacity of accepting Civil and Military Employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the *Popish* Clergy; among whom, great Cardinals and Prelates have been Commanders of Armies, chief Ministers, Knights of many Orders, Ambassadors, Secretaries of State, and in most high Offices under the Crown; although they assert the *indelible Character*, which no Sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, Commanders as well as private Soldiers, were professed Preachers in the Time of their Dominion, is allowed by all. *Cromwell* himself was a Preacher; and hath left us one of his Sermons in Print, exactly in the same Style and

Manner with those of our modern *Presbyterian* Teachers: So was Colonel *Howard*, Sir *George Downing*, and several others whose Names are on Record. I can, therefore, see no Reason why a painful *Presbyterian* Teacher, as soon as the *Test* shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the Spiritual Office and Stipend, a Commission in the Army, or the Civil List, in *Commendam*: For, as I take it, the *Church of England* is the only Body of *Christians*, which, in Effect, disqualifies those, who are employed to preach its Doctrine, from sharing in the Civil Power, farther than as Senators: Yet this was a Privilege begun in Times of *Popery*, many Hundred Years before the *Reformation*, and woven with the very Institution of our limited Monarchy.

There is indeed another Method, whereby the Stipends of dissenting Teachers may be raised, and the Farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a People so deserving, and so loyal by their Principles. Every Bishop, upon the Vacancy of a Church-Living, can sequester the Profits for the Use of the next Incumbent. Upon a Lapse of half a Year, the Donation falls to the Archbishop, and after a full Year to the Crown, during Pleasure. Therefore it would be no Hardship for any Clergyman *alive*, if (in those Parts of *Ireland*, where the Number of Sectaries much exceeds that of the Conformists) the Profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the Support of the dissenting Teacher, who hath so

many Souls to take Care of: Whereby the poor Tenants would be much relieved in these hard Times, and in a better Condition to pay their Rents.

But there is another Difficulty in this Matter, against which a Remedy doth not so readily occur. For, supposing the *Test-Act* repealed, and the Dissenters in Consequence fully qualified for all secular Employments; the Question may still be put, Whether those of *Ireland* will be often the Persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, there may be another *Seminary* in View, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more easily contented with such low Offices; which some nearer Neighbours hardly think it worth stirring from their Chimney-sides to obtain. And, I am told, it is the common Practice of those who are skilled in the Management of Bees, that when they see a foreign Swarm, at some Distance, approaching with an Intention to plunder their Hives, these Artists have a Trick to divert them into some neighbouring Apiary, there to make what Havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten Ground in many suspecting Heads: For it is the peculiar Talent of this Nation, to see Dangers afar off: To all which, I can only say, that our native *Presbyterians* must, by Pains and Industry, raise such a Fund of *Merit*, as will answer to a Birth six Degrees more to the *North*. If they cannot arrive at this Perfection,

fection, as several of the Established Church have compassed by indefatigable Pains, I do not well see, how their Affairs will much mend by repealing the *Test*: For, to be qualified by Law to accept an Employment, and yet to be disqualifed in Fact, as it will much increase the Mortification, so it will withdraw the Pity of many among their Well-wishers, and utterly deprive them of that *Merit* they have so long made, of being a loyal *true Protestant* People, persecuted only for Religion.

If this happen to be their Case, they must wait Maturity of Time; until they can by prudent, gentle Steps, make their Faith become the Religion Established in the Nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt, that they will take the most effectual Methods to secure their Power against those who must then be *Dissenters* in their Turn; whereof, if we may form a future Opinion from present Times, and the Dispositions of *Dissenters*, who love to make a *thorough Reformation*, the Number and Qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmost Sincerity, after long thinking, given my Judgment upon this arduous Affair; but with the utmost Defence and Submission to publick Wisdom and Power.

QUERIES

Relating to the

Sacramental TEST.

Written in the Year 1732.

Query, WHETHER Hatred and Violence between Parties in a State be not more inflamed by different Views of Interest, than by the greater or lesser Differences between them, either in Religion or Government?

Whether it be any Part of the Question at this Time, which of the two Religions is worse, *Popery*, or *Fanaticism*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the same good Will) is in the hopefulllest Condition to ruin the Church?

Whether the Sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the Church as infallibly and effectually as the *Papists*?

Whether the prevailing Sectaries could allow Liberty of Conscience to *Dissenters*, without belying all their former Practice, and almost all their former Writings?

Whether

Whether many hundred thousand *Scotch* Presbyterians, are not full as virulent against the Episcopal Church, as they are against the *Papists*; or, as they would have us think the *Papists* are against them?

Whether the *Dutch*, who are most distinguished for allowing Liberty of Conscience, do ever admit any Persons, who profess a different Scheme of Worship from their own, into Civil Employments, although they *may* be forced by the Nature of their Government to receive mercenary Troops of all Religions?

Whether the *Dissenters* ever pretended, until of late Years, to desire more than a bare Toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry Pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the *Test*, that the *Dissenters* in this Kingdom are equally numerous with the Churchmen, it would not be a necessary Point of Prudence, by all proper and lawful Means to prevent their further Increase?

The great Argument given by those whom they call *low* Churchmen, to justify the large Toleration allowed to *Dissenters*, hath been; that by such Indulgences, the Rancour of those Sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their Parties in a little Time crumble to nothing.

Query. If what the above Pamphleteer asserts, that the Sectaries are equal in Numbers with Conformists, be true, it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated Toleration have operated

directly contrary to what those low Church Politicians pretended to foresee and expect ?

Whether any Clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own Profession most agreeable to holy Scripture, and the primitive Church, can really wish in his Heart, that all Sectaries should be upon an equal Foot with the Churchmen, in the Point of Civil Power and Employments ?

Whether Episcopacy, which is held by the Church to be a Divine and Apostolical Institution, be not a fundamental Point of Religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring Holy Orders ?

Whether, by necessary Consequences, the several Expedients among the Sectaries to constitute their Teachers are not absolutely null and void ?

Whether the Sectaries will ever agree to accept Ordination only from Bishops ?

Whether the Bishops and Clergy will be content to give up Episcopacy, as a Point indifferent, without which the Church can not well subsist ?

Whether that great Tenderness towards Sectaries which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the Fears of *Popery*, or to that Spirit of Atheism, Deism, Scepticism, and universal Immorality, which all good Men so much lament ?

Granting *Popery* to have many more Errors in Religion than any other Branch of the Sectaries, let us examine the Actions of both as they have

have each affected the Peace of these Kingdoms, with Allowance for the short Time which the Sectaries had to act in, who are, in a Manner *but of yesterday*. The *Papists* in the Time of King *James the Second* used all Endeavours to establish their Superstition, wherein they failed, by the united Power of *English* Church-Protestants, with the Prince of *Orange's* Assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigoted *Papists* had the least Design to oppose or murder their King, much less to abolish kingly Government; nor was it their Interest or Inclination to attempt either.

On the other Side, the *Puritans*, who had, almost from the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, been a perpetual Thorn in the Church's Side, joining with the *Scotch* Enthusiasts, in the Time of King *Charles the First*, were the principal Cause of the *Irish Rebellion* and *Massacre*, by distressing that Prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely Succours. And, after that pious Prince had satisfied his Parliament in every single Point to be complained of, the same Sectaries, by poisoning the Minds and Affections of the People with the most false and wicked Representations of their King, were able in the Compas of a few Years to embroil the three Nations in a bloody Rebellion, at the Expence of many thousand Lives; to turn the kingly Power into Anarchy; to murder their Prince in the Face of the World, and (in their own Style) to destroy the Church, *Root and Branch.*

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The Account therefore stands thus. The *Papists* aimed at one pernicious Act, which was to destroy the *Protestant* Religion; wherein, by God's Mercy, and the Assistance of our glorious King *William*, they absolutely failed. The Sectaries attempted the three most infernal Actions, that could possibly enter into the Hearts of Men forsaken by God; which were, the Murder of a most pious King, the Destruction of the Monarchy, and the Extirpation of the Church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which, I put the following Queries, Whether any of those Sectaries have ever yet, in a solemn publick Manner, renounced any one of those Principles upon which their Predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel Persecutions of the Episcopal Church, during the Course of that horrid Rebellion and the Consequences of it, until the happy *Restoration*, it is not manifest, that the persecuting Spirit lies so equally divided between the *Papists* and the Sectaries, that a Feather would turn the Balance on either Side?

And, therefore, lastly, Whether any Person of common Understanding, who professeth himself a Member of the Church Established, although, perhaps, with little inward Regard to any Religion (which is too often the Case) if he loves the Peace and Welfare of his Country; can, after cool thinking, rejoice to see a Power placed again in the Hands of so restless, so ambitious,

bitious, and so merciless a Faction, to act over all the same Parts a second Time?

Whether the Candor of that Expression, so frequent of late in Sermons and Pamphlets, of the *Strength and Number of the Papists in Ireland*, can be justified? For as to their Number, however great, it is always magnified in Proportion to the Zeal, or Politicks, of the Speaker and Writer; but it is a gross Imposition upon common Reason, to terrify us with their Strength. For *Popery*, under the Circumstances it lies in this Kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough, from the Consequences it hath to encrease the Rapine, Sloth, and Ignorance, as well as Poverty of the Natives, is not properly dangerous in that Sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every Party of a different religious Profession. It is the Contempt of the Wise; the best Topick for Clamours of designing Men; but the real Terror only of Fools. The landed *Papist* Interest in *England*, far exceeds that among us, even in Proportion to the Wealth and Extent of each Kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into *Protestant* Hands, by Purchase or Deceit; and that affected Complaint of counterfeit Converts, will fall with the Cause of it, in half a Generation; unless it be raised or kept alive, as a continual Fund of Merit and Eloquence. The *Papists* are wholly disarmed: They have neither Courage, Leaders, Money, nor Inclinations to rebel:

rebel: They want every Advantage which they formerly possessed, to follow that Trade; and wherein, even with those Advantages, they always miscarried: They appear very easy, and satisfied under that Connivance which they enjoy'd during the whole last Reign; nor ever scrupled to reproach another Party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much Severity.

Upon these Considerations I must confess to have suspended much of my Pity towards the great Dreaders of *Popery*: Many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active young Men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and sleep heartily; and are very cheerful (as they have exceeding good Reason) upon all other Subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous Concern which our Neighbours, and others who come from the same Neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this Account; although the former be farther removed from the Danger of *Popery*, by Twenty Leagues of Salt Water: But this, I fear, is a Digression.

When an artificial Report was raised here many Years ago, of an intended Invasion by the *Pretender* (which blew over after it had done its Office) the *Dissenters* argued in their Talk, and in their Pamphlets, after this Manner, applying themselves to those of the Church: Gentlemen, if the *Pretender* had landed, as the Law now stands, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the *Test*, when-

whenever you shall happen to be invaded in Earnest, if we are desired to take up Arms in your Defence, our Answer shall be, Pray Gentlemen fight your own Battles, we will lie by quietly; conquer your Enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your Drudgery. This Way of Reasoning I have heard from several of their Chiefs and Abettors, in an Hundred Conversations; and have read it in Twenty Pamphlets: And, I am confident, it will be offered again, if the Project should fail, to take off the *Test*.

Upon which Piece of Oratory and Reasoning, I form the following Query. Whether, in Case of an Invasion from the *Pretender* (which is not quite so probable as from the *Grand Signior*) the *Dissenters* can with Prudence and Safety offer the same Plea; except they shall have made a previous Stipulation with the Invaders? And, Whether the full Freedom of their Religion and Trade, their Lives, Properties, Wives and Children, are not, and have not always been, reckoned sufficient Motives for repelling Invasions; especially in our Sectaries, who call themselves the *truest Protestants*, by Virtue of their pretended or real Fierceness against *Popery*.

Whether Omitting or Neglecting to celebrate the Day of the Martyrdom of the blessed King *Charles* the First, enjoined by Act of Parliament, can be justly reckoned a particular and distinguishing Mark of good Affection to the present Government?

Whether

Whether in those Churches where the said Day is observed, it will fully answer the Intent of the said Act, if the Preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the Murder of that Royal Martyr; and place the Guilt of that horrid Rebellion, with all its Consequences, the following Usurpations, the entire Destruction of the Church, the cruel and continual Persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its Doctrines, with the ensuing *Babel* of Fanaticism, to the Account of that blessed King; who, by granting the Petition of Right, and passing every Bill that could be asked for the Security of the Subject, had, by the Confession of those wicked Men, before the War began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether such a Preacher as I have named, (whereof there hath been more than *one*, not many Years past, even in the Presence of the Viceroy) who takes that Course, as a Means for Promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common Road, in a Monarchy where the Descendants of that most blessed Martyr have reigned to this Day?

I ground the Reason of making these Queries on the Title of the Act; to which I refer the Reader.

REASONS

Humbly offered to the

Parliament of I R E L A N D,

For REPEALING the

SACRAMENTAL TEST, &c. ||

IT is well known, that the first Conquerors of this Kingdom were *English Catholicks*, Subjects to *English Catholick Kings*, from whom,

|| *In the Years 1732, and 1733, an Attempt was made for repealing the Test Act in Ireland, introductory of a like Attempt in England. The various Arguments for it were answered in every Shape; but no way more effectually than by examining what Pretence the Presbyterians had to share in all the Privileges of Government, either from their own Principles and Behaviour, or compared with those of other Sectaries. Under the former Head they were fully silenced by our Author, in The Presbyterians*

whom, by their Valour and Success, they obtained large Portions of Land given them as a Reward for their many Victories over the *Irish*: To which Merit our *Bretbren* the Dissenters, of any Denomination whatsoever, have not the least Pretensions.

It is confessed, that the Posterity of those first victorious *Catholicks* were often forced to rise in their own Defence, against new Colonies from *England*, who treated them like mere native *Irish*, with innumerable Oppressions; depriving them of their Lands, and driving them by Force of Arms into the most desolate Parts of the Kingdom; till in the next Generation, the Children of these Tyrants were used in the same manner by new *English* Adventurers, which Practice continued for many Centuries. But it is agreed on all Hands, that no Insurrections were ever made, except after great Oppressions by fresh Invaders. Whereas all the Rebellions of *Puritans*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other Sectaries, constantly began before any Provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the Government in Church and State, and seize

*Plea of Merit impartially examined. They are now put in the Balance with Papists, whom, as they have sometimes styled them *Bretbren* in Adversity, they now dispute with for Preference in Power; which when they have adjusted, it will then be time enough to put in their Claim to be Part of the Establishment.*

both

both into their own Hands ; which, however, at last they did, with the Murder of their King, and of many Thousands of his best Subjects.

The *Catholicks* were always Defenders of Monarchy, as constituted in these Kingdoms ; whereas our *Bretbren* the *Dissenters* were always Republicans, both in Principle and Practice.

It is well known that all the *Catholicks* of these Kingdoms, both Priests and Laity, are true *Whigs*, in the best and most proper Sense of the Word ; bearing, as well in their Hearts, as in their outward Profession, an entire Loyalty to the Royal House of *Hanover*, in the Person and Posterity of *George II.* against the *Pretender* and all his *Adherents*. To which they think themselves bound in Gratitude as well as Conscience, by the Lenity wherewith they have been treated since the Death of *Queen Anne*, so different from what they suffered in the four last Years of that Princess, during the Administration of that *wicked* Minister, the Earl of *Oxford*.

The *Catholicks* of this Kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a Title as any of their *Brother Dissenters*, to the Appellation of *Protestants*. They have always *protested* against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their Kings ; against the *Usurpations* and *Avarice* of the *Court of Rome* ; against *Deism*, *Atheism*, *Socinianism*, *Quakerism*, *Muggletonianism*, *Fanaticism*, *Brownism*, as well as

against all *Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics*. Whereas the Title of *Protestants* assumed by the whole Herd of Dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their *Protesting against Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, with their Revenues*; and the whole *Hierarchy*; which are the very Expressions used in *The Solemn League and Covenant*, where the Word *Popery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the *Catholicks* agree with the *Episcopal Church* in those Fundamentals.

Although the *Catholicks* cannot deny, that in the great Rebellion against King *Charles I.* more Soldiers of their Religion were in the Parliament Army than in his Majesty's Troops, and that many *Jesuits* and *Friars* went about in the Disguise of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Ministers to preach up Rebellion, as the best Historians of those Times inform us; yet the Bulk of *Catholicks* in both Kingdoms preserved their Loyalty entire.

The *Catholicks* have some Reason to think it a little hard, when their Enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious Riot committed by that brutal *Russian*, *Sir Phelim O Neal* with his tumultuous Crew of *Rabble*, and the Forces raised afterwards by the *Catholick* Lords and Gentlemen of the *English* *Pale*, in Defence of the King, after the *English* *Rebellion* began. It is well known, that his Majesty's Affairs were in great Distraction some time before, by an Invasion of

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the *Covenanting, Scottish, Kirk Rebels*, and by the base Terms the King was forced to accept, that they might be kept in *Quiet*, at a Juncture when he was every Hour threatened at home by that *Fanatick Party*, which soon after set all in a *Flame*. And, if the *Catholick Army in Ireland* fought for their King against the Forces sent over by the Parliament, then in actual *Rebellion* against him, what Person of loyal Principles can be so partial to deny that they did their *Duty*, by joining with the *Marquis of Ormond*, and other *Commanders*, who bore their *Commissions* from the King? For which, great Numbers of them lost their *Lives*, and forfeited their *Estates*; a great Part of the latter being now possessed by many *Descendants* from those very Men who had drawn their *Swords* in the Service of that *rebellious Parliament* which cut off his *Head*, and destroyed *Monarchy*. And, what is more amazing, although the same Persons, when the *Irish* were entirely subdued, continued in Power under the *Rump*, were chief *Confidants*, and faithful *Subjects* to *Cromwell*, yet being wise enough to foresee a *Restoration*, they seized the *Forts* and *Castles* here, out of the *Hands* of their *old Brethren in Rebellion*, for the Service of the King; just saving the *Tide*, and putting in a Stock of *Merit*, sufficient not only to preserve the Land which the *Catholicks* lost by their *Loyalty*, but likewise to preserve their *Civil*

Those Insurrections wherewith the *Catholicks* are charged, from the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century to the great *English* Rebellion, were occasioned by many Oppressions they lay under. They had no Intention to introduce a *new Religion*, but to enjoy the Liberty of preserving the *old*; the very same which their Ancestors professed from the Time that *Christianity* was first introduced into this Island, which was by *Catholicks*; but whether mingled with Corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the Question. They had no Design to change the Government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a Trial, or to murder their King. The Schismaticks acted by a Spirit directly contrary; they united in a *Solemn League and Covenant*, to alter the whole System of Spiritual Government, established in all Christian Nations, and of Apostolick Institution; concluding the Tragedy with the Murder of the King in cold Blood, and upon mature Deliberation; at the same time changing the Monarchy into a Commonwealth.

The *Catholicks of Ireland*, in the great Rebellion, lost their Estates for fighting in Defence of their King. The Schismaticks, who cut off the Father's Head, forced the Son to fly for his Life, and overturned the whole ancient Frame of Government, Religious and Civil; obtained

obtained Grants of those very Estates which the *Catholicks* lost in Defence of the ancient Constitution, many of which Estates are at this Day possessed by the Posterity of those Schismatics: And thus they gained by their Rebellion what the *Catholicks* lost by their *Loyalty*.

We allow the *Catholicks* to be *Brethren* of the Dissenters; some People, indeed, (which we cannot allow), would have them to be our **Children**, because we both dissent from the Church Established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting Sacramental Test; by which *negative Discouragement* we are both rendered incapable of Civil and Military Employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold Familiarity of these Schismatics, in calling the Members of the National Church their *Brethren* and *Fellow-Protestants*. It is true, that all these Sects (except the *Catholicks*) are *Brethren* to each other in Faction, Ignorance, Iniquity, Perverseness, Pride, and (if we except the *Quakers*) in Rebellion. But, how the Churchmen can be styled their *Fellow Protestants*, we cannot comprehend. Because, when the whole *Babel* of Sectaries joined against the Church, the King, and the Nobility for twenty Years, in a **MATCH AT FOOT BALL**, where the Proverb expressly tells us, that *All are FELLOWS*; while the three Kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the Churches, and Cities, and Royal Palaces shattered to Pieces by their *Balls*, their *Buffets*, and their

Kicks : the Victors would allow no more **FELLOWS AT FOOTBALL** ; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the Plantations, or enslaved all their Opposers who had *lost the Game*.

It is said the World is governed by *Opinion* ; and Politicians assure us, that all Power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human Creatures are fond to Distraction of their own Opinions, and so much the more, as those Opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little Moment ; it must follow, that they are equally fond of Power. But no Opinions are maintained with so much Obstinacy as those in Religion, especially by such Zealots who never bore the least Regard to Religion, Conscience, Honour, Justice, Truth, Mercy, or common Morality, farther than in outward Appearance ; under the Mask of Hypocrisy, to promote their diabolical Designs. And therefore Bishop *Burnet*, one of their Oracles, tells us honestly, that the *Saints* of those Fanatick Times pronounced themselves above Morality ; which they reckoned among *beggarly Elements* ; but the Meaning of those two last Words thus applied, we confess to be above our Understanding.

Among those Kingdoms and States which first embraced the Reformation, *England* appears to have received it in the most regular Way ; where it was introduced in a peaceable Manner, by the supreme Power of a King, and the three Estates in Parliament ; to which, as the highest legislative Authority, all Subjects

are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much Blood shed on so great a Change of Religion. But a considerable Number of Lords, and other Persons of Quality thro' the Kingdom, still continued in their old Faith, and were, notwithstanding their Difference in Religion, employed in Offices Civil as well as Military, more or less in every Reign, until the Test Act in the Time of King *Charles II.* However, from the Time of the Reformation, the Number of *Catholicks* gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the Reign of King *Charles I.* *England* became, in a great Degree, a Protestant Kingdom, without taking the Sectaries into the Number; the Legality whereof, with respect to human Laws, the *Catholicks* never disputed: But the *Puritans*, and other Schismatics, without the least Pretence to any such Authority, by an open Rebellion, destroyed that legal Reformation, as we observed before, murdered their King, and changed the Monarchy into a Republick. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the *Catholicks*, in such a *Babel* of Religions, chose to adhere to their own Faith left them by their Ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a Rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding Knaves, or deluded Enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national Religion be changed by the supreme Legislative Power, we cannot dispute the human Legality of such a Change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable Party of Men which differs

differs from an Establishment, either old or new, can deserve Liberty of Conscience, it ought to consist of those who, for want of Conviction, or of a right understanding the Merits of each Cause, conceive themselves bound in Conscience to adhere to the Religion of their Ancestors, because they are of all others least likely to be Authors of Innovations, either in Church or State.

On t'other Side ; If the Reformation of Religion be founded upon Rebellion against the King, without whose Consent, by the Nature of our Constitution, no Law can pass ; if this Reformation be introduced by only one of the three Estates, I mean the Commons, and not by one half even of those Commons, and this by the Assistance of a rebellious Army ; again, if this Reformation were carried on by the Exclusion of Nobles both Lay and Spiritual, (who constitute the two other Parts of the three Estates) by the Murder of their King, and by abolishing the whole System of Government ; the *Catholicks* cannot see why the Successors of those Schismaticks, who are universally accused by all Parties except themselves, and a few infamous Abettors, for still retaining the same Principles in Religion and Government, under which their Predecessors acted, should pretend to a better Share of Civil or Military Trust, Profit, and Power, than the *Catholicks*, who, during all that Period of twenty Years, were continually persecuted with the utmost Severity, merely

merely on account of their Loyalty and constant Adherence to Kingly Power.

We now come to those Arguments for repealing the Sacramental Test, which equally affect the *Catholicks*, and their Brethren the Dissenters.

First, We agree with our Fellow-Dissenters, that * *Persecution merely for Conscience Sake, is against the Genius of the Gospel.* And so likewise is any Law for depriving Men of their natural and civil Rights which they claim as Men. We are also ready enough to allow, that the *smallest negative Discouragements for Uniformity's Sake are so many Persecutions.* Because, it cannot be denied, that the Scratch of a Pin is in some Degree a real Wound, as much as a Stab thro' the Heart. In like Manner, an Incapacity by Law for any Man to be made a Judge, a Colonel, or Justice of the Peace, merely on a Point of Conscience, is a negative Discouragement, and consequently a real Persecution: For, in this Case, the Author of the Pamphlet quoted in the † Margin puts a very pertinent and powerful Question: *If God be the sole Lord of the Conscience, why should the Rights of Conscience be subject to human Jurisdiction?* Now to apply this to the *Catholicks*; the Belief of Transubstantiation is a Matter purely of Religion and Conscience, which doth not affect the political Interest of Society, as such: Therefore,

* Vid. *Reasons for the Repeal of the Sacramental Test.* † Idem;

Why should the Rights of Conscience, whereof GOD is the sole LORD, be subject to human Jurisdiction? And why should GOD be deprived of this Right over a *Catholick's Conscience*, any more than over that of any other Dissenter?

And whereas another Author among our Brethren the Dissenters, hath very justly complained, that by this persecuting Test Act, great Numbers of *true Protestants* have been forced to leave the Kingdom, and fly to the Plantations, rather than stay here **BRANDED** with an Incapacity for Civil and Military Employments; we do affirm, that the *Catholicks* can bring many more Instances of the same Kind; some Thousands of their Religion having been forced by the Sacramental Test, to retire into other Countries, rather than live here under the Incapacity of wearing Swords, sitting in Parliament, and getting that Share of Power and Profit which belong to them as *Fellow Christians*, whereof they are deprived merely upon Account of Conscience, which would not allow them to take the Sacrament after the Manner prescribed in the Liturgy. Hence it clearly follows in the Words of the same * Author, That *if we Catholicks are incapable of Employments, we are punished for our Dissent, that is, for our Conscience, which wholly turns upon political Considerations.*

The *Catholicks* are willing to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, whenever their Brethren

* See Reasons against the TEST.

the Dissenters shall please to shew them an Example.

Further, The *Catholicks*, whenever their Religion shall come to be the national established Faith, are willing to undergo the same *Test* offered by the Author already quoted. His Words are these : *To end this Debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial Person a fair and equitable one : We Catholicks propose, with Submission to the proper Judges, that effectual Security be taken against Persecution, by obliging all who are admitted into Places of Power and Trust, whatever their religious Profession be, in the most solemn Manner, to disclaim persecuting Principles.* It is hoped the Publick will take Notice of these Words ; *Whatever their religious Profession be ;* which plainly include the *Catholicks* ; and for which we return Thanks to our *Dissenting Brethren*.

And, whereas it is objected by those of the established Church, that if the Schismatics and Fanatics were once put into a Capacity of possessing Civil and Military Employments, they would never be at ease till they had raised their own way of Worship into the national Religion, thro' all his Majesty's Dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottish Kirk* ; which when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow Liberty of Conscience to Episcopal Dissenters, than they did in the Time of the great *English Rebellion*, in the succeeding

Fanatick Anarchy, till the King was restored. There is another very learned schismatical * Pamphleteer, who, in Answer to a malignant Libel, called, *The Presbyterian Plea of Merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this Aspersion ; by assuring all Episcopal Protestants of the present Church, upon his own Word, and to his own Knowledge, that our Brethren the Dissenters will never offer at such an Attempt. In like Manner, the *Catholicks*, when legally required, will openly declare *upon their Words and Honours*, that, as soon as their *negative Discouragements* and their *Persecution* shall be removed by repealing the *Sacramental Test*, they will leave it entirely to the Merits of the Cause, whether the Kingdom shall think fit to make their Faith the established Religion or not.

And again, Whereas our *Presbyterian* Brethren in many of their Pamphlets, take much Offence, that the great Rebellion in *England*, the Murder of the King, with the entire Change of Religion and Government, are perpetually objected against them, both in and out of Season, by our common Enemy, the present Conformists ; we do declare in the Defence of our said Brethren, that the Reproach aforesaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare Cant*, which they always disdained to answer : And I very well remember, that, having once told a certain Conformist, how much I wondered to hear

* *Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters.*

him

him and his Tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a Subject; he was pleased to divert the Discourse with a foolish Story, which I cannot forbear telling to his Disgrace. He said, there was a Clergyman in *Yorkshire*, who for fifteen Years together preached every *Sunday* against Drunkenness: Whereat the Parishioners being much offended, complained to the Archbishop; who having sent for the Clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the Minister had no better an Answer, than by confessing the Fact; adding, that all the Parish were Drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from once Vice before he would begin upon another; and, since they still continued to be as great Drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his Grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an Accusation lieth upon the *Catholicks of Ireland*; that some Years before King *Charles II.* was restored, when theirs and the King's Forces were entirely reduced, and the Kingdom declared by the Rump to be settled; after all his Majesty's Generals were forced to fly to *France*, or other Countries, the Heads of the said *Catholicks* who remained here in an enslaved Condition, joined to send an Invitation to the Duke of *Lorrain*; engaging, upon his appearing here with his Forces, to deliver up the whole Island to his Power, and declare him their Sovereign; which, after the Restoration, was proved

against them by Dean *Boyle*, since *Primate*, who produced the very original Instrument at the Board. The *Catholicks* freely acknowledge the Fact to be true ; and, at the same Time, appeal to all the World, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable Project, could have been thought of. They were then reduced to Slavery and Beggary by the *English* Rebels, many Thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their Estates, and driven to live on a small Pittance in the Wilds of *Connaught* ; at a Time when either the *Rump* or *Cromwell* absolutely governed the three Kingdoms. And the Question will turn upon this, Whether the *Catholicks*, deprived of all their Possessions, governed with a Rod of Iron, and in utter Despair of ever seeing the Monarchy restored, for the Preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign Prince of their own Religion, who had a considerable Army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an Usurper as *Cromwell*, or such a bloody and ignominious Conventicle as the *Rump*. And I have often heard not only our Friends the Dissenters, but even our common Enemy the Conformists, who are conversant in the History of those Times, freely confess, that considering the miserable Situation the *Irish* were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous Attempt ; by which they might have been Instruments of restoring the

the lawful Monarch, at least to the Recovery of *England* and *Scotland*, from those Betrayers, and Sellers, and Murderers of his Royal Father.

To conclude, Whereas the last quoted Author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great Mistake: For the first original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confess, the Scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the Principles by which they acted, and until those Principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all Generations, like the Mark set upon *Cain*, which some Authors say descended to all his Posterity; or like the *Roman Nose* and *Austrian Lip*, or like the long Bag of Flesh hanging down from the Gills of the People in *Piedmont*. But as for any *Brands* fixed on Schismaticks for several Years past, they have been all made with *cold Iron*; like Thieves, who by the BENEFIT OF THE CLERGY are condemned to be only burn'd in the Hand; but escape the Pain and the Mark, by being in *Fee* with the *JAYLOR*. Which Advantage the Schismatical Teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a *very fresh Instance*, have the Souls, and Bodies, and Purses of their People a hundred times more at their Mercy, than the *Catholick Priests* could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the *Catholicks* do humbly petition (*without the least Insinuation*

258 *The ROMAN CATHOLICKS Reasons, &c.*
of Threatning) that upon this *favourable* Junc-
ture their Incapacity for Civil and Military
Employments may be wholly taken off, for the
very same Reasons (besides others more cogent)
that are now offered by their *Bretbren the Dis-
sinters.*

*And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall
ever pray, &c.*

Dublin, Nov. 1733.



SOME

SOME
REASONS
AGAINST

The BILL for settling the Tythe of
Hemp, Flax, &c. by a Modus.

Written in the Year 1734.

THE Clergy did little expect to have any Cause of Complaint against the present House of Commons ; who in the last Sessions were pleased to throw out a Bill sent them from the Lords, which that Reverend Body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a Law : And who, in the present Sessions, defeated the Arts and Endeavours of *Schismatics* to repeal the *Sacrament Test*.

For, altho' it hath been allowed on all Hands, that the former of those Bills might, by its necessary Consequences, be very displeasing to the Lay Gentlemen of the Kingdom, for many Reasons purely secular ; and that this last Attempt for repealing the *Test*, did much more affect, at present, the Temporal Interest than

than the Spiritual ; yet the whole Body of the lower Clergy have, upon both those Occasions, expressed equal Gratitude to that honourable House, for their Justice and Steadiness, as if the Clergy alone were to receive the Benefit.

It must needs be therefore a great Addition to the Clergy's Grief, that such an Assembly as the present House of Commons should now, with an Expedition more than usual, agree to a Bill for encouraging the Linen Manufacture, with a Clause whereby the Church is to lose two Parts in three of the legal Tythe in Flax and Hemp.

Some Reasons why the Clergy think such a Law will be a great Hardship upon them, are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them with all Deference due to that honourable Assembly.

First, The Clergy suppose that they have not, by any Fault or Demerit, incurred the Displeasure of the Nation's Representatives : Neither can the declared Loyalty of the present Set, from the highest Prelate to the lowest Vicar, be in the least disputed : Because, there are hardly ten Clergymen through the whole Kingdom, for more than nineteen Years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared Affection to the *Hanover* Line, or higher promoted as the due Reward of the same Merit.

There is not a Landlord in the whole Kingdom, residing some Part of the Year at his Country Seat, who is not in his own Conscience fully

fully convinced, that the Tythes of his Minister have gradually sunk, for some Years past, one Third, or at least one Fourth of their former Value, exclusive of all Non-solvencies.

The Payment of Tythes in this Kingdom is subject to so many Frauds, Brangles, and other Difficulties, not only from *Papists* and *Dissenters*, but even from those who profess themselves *Protestants*; that by the Expence, the Trouble, and Vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other Rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill-paid.

The Landlords in most Parishes expect, as a Compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the Value of the Tythes for the Lands they hold in their own Hands; which often consist of large Domains: And it is the Minister's Interest to make them easy upon that Article, when he considers what Influence those Gentlemen have upon their Tenants.

The Clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a Bill for encouraging the Linen Manufacture they alone must be the Sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a Tax of Three Thousand Pounds a Year, paid by the Publick, for a farther Encouragement to the said Manufacture, are not the Clergy equal Sharers in the Charge with the rest of their Fellow Subjects; What satisfactory Reason can be therefore given why they alone should bear the whole additional Weight, unless it will be alledged, that their Property is not upon an equal Foot with the Properties of other Men.

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They acquire their own small Pittance, by at least as honest Means as their Neighbours the Landlords possess their Estates ; and have been always supposed, except in rebellious or fanatical Times, to have as good a Title : For, no Families now in being can shew a more ancient. Indeed if it be true that some Persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the Rights of the Clergy were mentioned ; in this Case, an Opinion may possibly be soon advanced, that they have no Rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain Ground, in Proportion as the Contempt of all Religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward Way.

It is said, there will be also added in this Bill a Clause for diminishing the Tythe of Hops, in order to cultivate that useful Plant among us : And here, likewise, the Load is to lie entirely on the Shoulders of the Clergy, while the Landlords reap all the Benefit. It will not be easy to foresee whether such Proceedings are like to stop : Or whether by the same Authority, in civil Times, a Parliament may not as justly challenge the same Power, in reducing all Things tytheable, not below the tenth Part of the Product (which is, and ever will be the Clergy's equitable Right) but from a tenth Part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by skilful Persons, that the Practice of taxing the Clergy by Parliament,

liament, without their own Consent, is a new thing, not much above the Date of seventy Years: Before which Period, in Times of Peace, they always taxed themselves. But things are extremely altered at present: It is not now sufficient to tax them in common with their Fellow Subjects, without imposing an additional Tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their Fellow Subjects are exempt; and this in a Country professing Christianity.

The greatest Part of the Clergy throughout this Kingdom have been stripped of their Glebes by the Confusion of Times, by Violence, Fraud, Oppression, and other unlawful Means; all which Glebes are now in the Hands of the Laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the Mercy of Landlords, for a small Piece of Ground in their Parishes, at a most exorbitant Rent, and usually for a short Term of Years; whereon to build a House, and enable them to reside. Yet in Spite of these Disadvantages, I am a Witness that they are generally more constant Residents than their Brethren in *England*; where the meanest Vicar hath a convenient Dwelling, with a Barn, a Garden, and a Field or two for his Cattle; besides the Certainty of his little Income from honest Farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his Dues, but likewise to make him Presents, according to their Ability, for his better Support. In all which Circumstances,

the

It is hoped the honourable House will consider that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning Clergyman, to do the least Injustice to the meanest Cottager in his Parish, in any Bargain for Tythes, or other Ecclesiastical Dues. He can, at the utmost, only demand to have his Tythe fairly laid out ; and does not once in a hundred Times obtain his Demand. But every Tenant, from the poorest Cottager to the most substantial Farmer, can, and generally doth, impose upon the Minister, by Fraud, by Theft, by Lies, by Perjuries, by Insolence, and sometimes by Force ; notwithstanding the utmost Vigilance and Skill of himself and his Proctor. Insomuch, that it is allowed the Clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal Dues ; not including the Charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The Land Rents of *Ireland* are computed to above two Millions, whereof one Tenth amounts to two hundred thousand Pounds. The beneficed Clergymen, excluding those of this City, are not reckoned to be above five hundred ; by which Computation, they should each of them possess two hundred Pounds a Year, if those Tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated Corn Countries it ought to be more ; whereas they hardly receive one half of that Sum, with great Defalcations, and

and in very bad Payments. There are indeed, a few Glebes in the North pretty considerable, but if these and all the rest were in like Manner equally divided, they would not add five Pounds a Year to every Clergyman. Therefore, whether the Condition of the Clergy in general among us be liable to Envy, or able to bear a heavy Burthen, which neither the Nobility nor Gentry, nor Tradesmen, nor Farmers, will touch with one of their Fingers ; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable House.

One terrible Circumstance in this Bill is, that of turning the Tythe of *Flax* and *Hemp* into what the Lawyers call a *Modus*, or a certain Sum in lieu of a tenth Part of the Product. And by this Practice of claiming a *Modus* in many Parishes, by ancient Custom, the Clergy in both Kingdoms have been almost incredible Sufferers. Thus, in the present Case, the Tythe of a tolerable Acre of *Flax*, which by a Medium is worth twelve Shillings, is by the present Bill reduced to four Shillings. Neither is this the worst Part in a *Modus* ; every determinate Sum must in Process of Time sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth Part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary Fall attending the Value of Money, which is now at least nine Tenths lower all over *Europe* than it was four hundred Years ago, by a gradual Decline ; and even a third Part, at least, within our own Memories, in purchasing almost every thing required for the Necessities or Conveniencies of Life ; as

any Gentleman can attest, who hath kept House for twenty Years past. And this will equally affect poor Countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an Impossibility that this Kingdom should ever thrive under its present Disadvantages, which without a Miracle must still increase; yet, when the whole Cash of the Nation shall sink to Fifty thousand Pounds, we must, in all our Traffick abroad, either of Import, or Export, go by the general Rate at which Money is valued in those Countries that enjoy the common Privileges of human Kind. For this Reason no Corporation (if the Clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their Properties in Perpetuity, upon any Confederation whatsoever; which is a Rock that many Corporations have split upon, to their great Impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter Undoing; because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no Determination of Money is of any certain perpetual intrinsick Value. This is known enough in *England*, where Estates lett for ever, some hundred Years ago, by several ancient noble Families, do not at this present pay their Posterity a twentieth Part of what they are now worth at an easy Rent.

A Tax affecting one Part of a Nation, which already bears its full Share in all Parliamentary Impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a Punishment upon that Body of Men which is taxed, for some great Demerit, or

or Danger to the Publick, apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: Thus the *Papists* and *Non-jurors* have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper Securities to the Government; which cannot be objected against the Clergy. And therefore if this Bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a Preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what Disaffection or other Crime they are punished.

If an additional Excise upon Ale, or a Duty upon Flesh, and Bread, were to be enacted, neither the Victualler, Butcher, nor Baker, would bear any more of the Charge than for what themselves consumed; but it would be an equal general Tax through the whole Kingdom: Whereas, by this Bill, the Clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed Rights, in order to encourage a Manufacture, by which all the rest of the Kingdom are supposed to be Gainers.

This Bill is directly against *Magna Charta*, whereof the first Clause is for confirming the inviolable Rights of Holy Church; as well as contrary to the Oath taken by all our Kings at their Coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the Church in all Rights.

A Tax laid upon Employments is a very different thing. The Professors of Civil and Military Employments are no Corporation; neither are they any Part of our Constitution; their Salaries, Pay, and Perquisites are all

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changeable at the Pleasure of the Prince who bestows them, although the Army be paid from Funds raised and appropriated by the Legislature. But the Clergy, as they have little Reason to expect, so they desire no more than their ancient legal Dues ; only indeed with the Removal of many grievous Impediments in the Collection of them ; which it is to be feared, they must wait for until more favourable Times. It is well known that they have already, of their own accord, shewn great Indulgence to their People upon this very Article of *Flax*, seldom taking above a fourth Part of their Tythe for small Parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all, from new Beginners ; waiting with Patience until the Farmers were able, and until greater Quantities of Land were employed in that Part of Husbandry ; never suspecting that their good Intentions should be perverted in so singular a Manner to their Detriment, by that very Assembly which, during the Time that Convocations (which are an original Part of our Constitution, ever since *Christianity* became National among us) are thought fit to be suspended, GOD knows for what Reason, or from what Provocations ; I say, from that very Assembly, who, during the Intervals of Convocations, should rather be supposed to be Guardians of the Rights and Properties of the Clergy, than to make the least Attempt upon either.

I have

I have not heard, upon Enquiry, that any of those Gentlemen, who, among us without Doors, are called the Court-Party, discover the least Zeal in this Affair. If they had Thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their Displeasure against this Bill, which must very much lessen the Value of the King's Patronage upon Promotion to vacant Sees, in the Disposal of Deanries, and other considerable Preferments in the Church, which are in the Donation of the Crown; whereby the Viceroy will have fewer good Perferments to bestow on their Dependents, as well as upon the Kindred of Members, who may have a sufficient Stock of that Sort of Merit, whatever it may be, which may in future Times most prevail.

The *Dissenters*, by not succeeding in their Endeavours to procure a Repeal of the *Test*, have lost nothing, but continue in a full Enjoyment of their Toleration; while the Clergy, without giving the least Offence, are by this Bill deprived of a considerable Branch of their ancient legal Rights, whereby the Schismatical Party will have the Pleasure of gratifying their Revenge. *Hoc Græii voluere.*

The Farmer will find no Relief by this *Modus*, because when his present Lease shall expire, his Landlord will infallibly raise the Rent, in an equal Proportion, upon every Part of Land where Flax is sown, and have so much a better Security for Payment at the Expence of the Clergy.

If we judge by Things past, it little avails that this Bill is to be limited to a certain Time of Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Years. For no Landlord will ever consent that a Law shall expire, by which he finds himself a Gainer; and of this there are many Examples as well in *England* as in this Kingdom.

The great End of this Bill is by proper Encouragement to extend the Linen Manufacture into those Countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: But this Encouragement of *lessening the Tythe of Flax and Hemp* is one of such a Kind, as it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary Effect. Because, if I am rightly informed, no Set of Men hath, for their Number and Fortunes, been more industrious and successful than the Clergy, in introducing that Manufacture into Places which were unacquainted with it, by persuading their People to sow *Flax* and *Hemp*, by procuring Seed for them, and by having them instructed in the Management thereof; and this they did not without reasonable hopes of increasing the Value of their Parishes after some time, as well as of promoting the Benefit of the Publick. But if this *Modus* should take Place, the Clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become Losers by their extraordinary Care, by having their best Arable Lands turned to *Flax* and *Hemp*, which are reckoned great Impoverishers of Land: They cannot therefore be blamed, if they should shew as much Zeal to prevent

prevent its being introduced or improved in their Parishes as they hitherto have shewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared, at least so far as to resolve, not to give themselves any more Trouble than other Men, about promoting a Manufacture, by the Success of which they only of all Men are to be Sufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further Encouragement than the Law doth, as it now stands, to a Set of Men who might on many Accounts be so useful to this Purpose, would be no bad Method of having the great End of the Bill more effectually answered: But this is what they are far from desiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the same Footing with the rest of their Fellow Subjects.

If this *Modus* of paying by the Acre be to pass into a Law, it were to be wished that the same Law would appoint one or more sworn Surveyors in each Parish, to measure the Lands on which *Flax* and *Hemp* are sown, as also would settle the Price of Surveying, and determine whether the Incumbent or Farmer is to pay for each annual Survey. Without something of this Kind there must constantly be Disputes between them, and the neighbouring Justices of Peace must be teized as often as those Disputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a Paper was sent to me with several Reasons against the Bill,

Bill, some whereof, although they have been already touched are put in a better Light, and the rest did not occur to me. I shall deliver them in the Author's own Words.

N. B. Some Alterations have been made in the Bill about the Modus, since the above Paper was written; but they are of little Moment.



SOME

S O M E

Farther REASONS

A G A I N S T

The B I L L for settling the
Tythe of *Hemp, Flax, &c.*

- I. **T**HAT Tythes are the Patrimony of the Church; and if not of Divine Original, yet at least of great Antiquity.
- II. That all Purchases and Leases of Tytheable Lands, for many Centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the Demand of Tythes, and those Lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that Account.
- III. That if any Lands are exempted from Tythes, or the legal Demands of such Tythes lessened by Act of Parliament, so much Value is taken from the Proprietor of the Tythes, and vested in the Proprietor of the Lands, or his head Tenants.

IV. That

IV. That no innocent unoffending Person can be so deprived of his Property without the greatest Violation of common Justice.

V. That to do this upon a Prospect of Encouraging the Linen or any other Manufacture, is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust Supposition; inasmuch as the Price of the Lands so occupied will be no way lessened to the Farmer by such a Law.

VI. That the Clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any Burthen in common with their Fellow Subjects, either for the Support of his Majesty's Government, or the Encouragement of the Trade of the Nation; but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier Taxes than others, at a Time when by the Decrease of the Value of their Parishes they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the Legislature hath heretofore distinguished the Clergy by Exemptions, and not by additional Loads, and the present Clergy of the Kingdom hope they have not deserved worse of the Legislature than their Predecessors.

VIII. That by the original Constitution of these Kingdoms, the Clergy had the sole Right of taxing themselves, and were in Possession of that Right as low as the Restoration; and if that Right be now devolved upon the Commons by the Cession of the Clergy, the Commons can be considered in this Case in no other

other Light than as the Guardians of the Clergy.

IX. That, besides those Tythes always in the Possession of the Clergy, there are some Portions of Tythes lately come into their Possession by Purchase; that if this Clause should take place, they would not be allowed the Benefit of these Purchases upon an equal Foot of Advantage with the rest of their Fellow Subjects. And that some Tythes in the Hands of Impropriators are under Settlements and Mortgages.

X. That the Gentlemen of this House should consider, that loading the Clergy is loading their own younger Brothers and Children, with this additional Grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; And,

Lastly, That if it were at any Time just and proper to do this, it would however be too severe to do it now, when all the Tythes of the Kingdom are known for some Years past to have sunk above one third Part in their Value.

Any Income in the Hands of the Clergy, is at least as useful to the Publick as the same Income in the Hands of the Laity.

It were more reasonable to grant the Clergy in three Parts of the Nation an additional Support, than to diminish their present Subsistence.

Great Employments are and will be in the Hands of *Englishmen*, nothing left for the younger

276 *Farther REASONS against settling the younger Sons of Irishmen but Vicarages, Tide-Waiters Places, &c. therefore no reason to make them worse.*

The *Modus* upon the *Flax* in *England* affects only Lands reclaimed since the Year 1690, and is at the Rate of five Shillings the *English Acre*, which is equivalent to eight Shillings and eight Pence *Irish*, and that to be paid before the Farmer removed it from the Field. *Flax* is a Manufacture of little Consequence in *England*, but is the Staple in *Ireland*, and if it increases (as it probably will) must in many Places jostle out *Corn*, because it is more gainful.

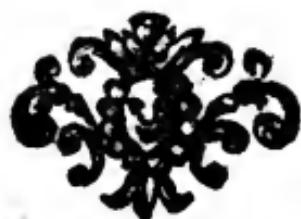
The Clergy of the Established Church have no Interest, like those of the Church of *Rome*, distinct from the true Interest of their Country, and therefore ought to suffer under no distinct Impositions or Taxes of any kind.

The Bill for settling the *Modus of Flax* in *England* was brought in the first Year of the Reign of King *George I.* when the Clergy lay very unjustly under the Imputation of some Disaffection ; and to encourage the bringing in of some Fens in *Lincolnshire* which were not to be continued under *Flax* ; but it left all Lands where *Flax* had been sown before that Time under the same Condition of Tything in which they were before the passing of that Bill : Whereas this Bill takes away what the Clergy are actually possessed of.

That the Woollen Manufacture is the Staple of *England*, as the Linen is that of *Ireland*, yet no

no Attempt was ever made in *England* to reduce the Tythe of Wool for the Encouragement of that Manufacture. This Manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the Clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six Pence a Garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed; the Reasons for which Taxation will not hold with regard to Property, at least till Employments become Inheritances. The Commons always have had so tender a Regard to Property, that they would never suffer any Law to pass, whereby any particular Persons might be aggrieved without their own Consent.





S O M E

A D V I C E

Humbly offered to the

M E M B E R S

O F T H E

O C T O B E R C L U B.

In a LETTER from a PERSON of
HONOUR.

WRITTEN in the YEAR M D C C X I.



THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the Year when her late Majesty, of blessed Memory, thought proper to change her Ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others ; the first of these being made an Earl and Lord Treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his Friends, for not making a general Sweep of all the Whigs, as the Latter did of their Adversaries, upon her Majesty's Death, when they came into Power. At that Time a great Number of Parliament Men, amounting to above two Hundred, grew so warm upon the Slowness of the Treasurer in this Part, that they formed themselves into a Body, under the Name of the October Club, and had many Meetings, to consult upon some Methods that might spur on those in Power, so that they might make a quicker Dispatch, in removing all of the Whig Leaven from the Employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill Consequences of this Discontent among so many worthy Members ; the rest of the Ministry joined with the Treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide those who were in greater Haste than moderate Men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed

ed Author met a considerable Number of this Club in a publick House, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treasurer's Sincerity, with many of those very Reasons, which are urged in the following Discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that Time in Print.

The Treasurer alledged in his Defence, that such a Treatment would not consist with Prudence, because there were many Employments to be bestowed, which required Skill and Practice; that several Gentlemen who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her Majesty, had never been violent Party Men, and were ready to fall into all honest Measures for the Service of their Queen and Country. But however, as Offices became vacant, he would bumbly recommend to her Majesty such Gentlemen, whose Principles with Regard both to Church and State, his Friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their Recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring Employments for those who deserved them by their Honesty, and Abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a Singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the Gentlemen of this Club still continued uneasy that no quicker Progress was made in Removals, until those who were least violent, began to soften a little, or by dividing them, the whole Affair dropped. During this Difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great Success, shewing the

Dif-

Difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real Desire, that all Persons in Employment should be true loyal Churchmen, zealous for her Majesty's Honour and Safety, as well as for the Succession in the House of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without Issue. This Discourse having been published about the Year 1711, and many of the Facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some Explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a Point of History too material to be lost. We owe this Piece of Intelligence to an Intimate of the supposed Author.



SOME

S O M E
A D V I C E
Humbly offered to the
M E M B E R S
O F T H E
O C T O B E R - C L U B .

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first Institution of your Society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest Things. Such a Number of Persons, Members of Parliament, true Lovers of our Constitution in Church and State, meeting at certain Times, and mixing Business and Conversation together, without the Forms and Constraint necessary to be observed in publick Assemblies, must very much improve each others Under-

Understanding, correct and fix your Judgment, and prepare yourselves against any Designs of the opposite Party. Upon the Opening of this Session, an Incident hath happened ; to provide against the Consequences whereof will require your utmost Vigilance and Application. All this last Summer the Enemy was working under Ground, and laying their Train ; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their Pamphlets and Papers, while those on our Side were dropped, as if we had no farther Occasion for them. Some Time before, an Opportunity fell into their Hands, which they have cultivated ever since ; and thereby have endeavoured, in some Sort, to turn those Arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their Ruin : A plain Demonstration of their superior Skill at Intrigue ; to make a Stratagem succeed a second Time ; and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this Opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any Care, without straining a very *tender Point*, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all Means, because it might seem a Counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their Predecessors ; although it is certain the two Cases were widely different ; and if Policy had once got the better of Good-nature, all had been safe, for there was no other Danger in View : But the Consequences of this were foreseen from the Beginning ; and those who *kept the Watch*, had early Warning of it. It would have been a Master-piece

piece of Prudence, in this Case, to have made a *Friend* of an *Enemy*. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All Accommodation was rendered desperate by an unlucky Proceeding some Months ago at *Windsor*, which was a Declaration of War too frank and generous for that Situation of Affairs ; and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great Minister. It was obvious to suppose, that in a Particular, where the Honour and Interest of a *Husband* were so closely united with those of a *Wife*, he might be sure of her utmost Endeavours for his Protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The Danger of losing Power, Favour, Profit, and a Shelter from *Domestick Tyranny*, were strong Incitements to stir up a working Brain, *early* practised in all the Arts of Intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the Weakness of any Man's Understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the Spirit of Revenge to sharpen his Invention : Nothing else is required besides *Obsequiousness* and *Affiduity* ; which, as they are often the Talents of those who have no better, so, they are apt to make Impressions upon the *best* and *greatest Minds*.

It was no small Advantage to the *designing Party*, that since the Adventure at *Windsor*, the *Person* on whom we so much depend, was long absent by *Sickness* ; which hindered him from pursuing those Measures, that Ministers are in Prudence forced to take, to defend their Coun-

try

try and themselves against an irritated Faction. The *Negotiators* on the other Side improved this favourable Conjunction to the utmost ; and by an unparallel'd Boldness, accompanied with many Falshoods, persuaded certain Lords, who were already in the same Principle, but were afraid of making a wrong Step, lest it should *lead them out of their Coaches into the Dirt* ; that voting, in Appearance, against the Court, would be the safest Course to avoid the Danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their Pensions ; and their Opinions, when produced, would, by seemingly contradicting their Interest, have an Appearance of Virtue into the Bargain. This, with some Arguments of more *immediate Power*, went far in producing that strange unexpected Turn we have so lately seen, and from which our Adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful Effects ; and some of them, particularly my Lord Chief Justice, began to act as if all were already in their Power.

But, although the more immediate Causes of this Desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing Opinion, that the Church Party and the Ministers had different Views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and, I suppose, not without some Ground of Truth, that many Gentlemen of your Club were discontented to find so *little done* ; that they

they thought it looked as if People were *not in earnest*; that they expected to see a *thorough Change*, with respect to Employments; and although every Man could not be provided for, yet when all Places were filled with Persons of good Principles, there would be fewer complaints, and less Danger from the other Party; that this Change was hoped for all last Summer, and even to the Opening of the Session, yet nothing done. On the other Hand, it was urged by some, in Favour of the Ministry, that it was impossible to find Employments for one *Pretender* in twenty; and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disengaged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve; But this again was esteemed a very shallow Policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an End, and would cause a general Discontent; with twenty other Objections, to which it was liable. And indeed, considering the short Life of Ministers in our Climate, it was with some Reason thought a little hard, that those, for whom any Employment was intended, should by such a Delay, be probably deprived of half their Benefit; not to mention, that a Ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior Officers are in its Interest.

I have set this Cause of Complaint in the strongest Light, although my Design is to endeavour that it should have no Manner of Weight with you, as I am confident our Adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty Advantages by it,

But

But it is necessary to say something to this Objection, which in all Appearance lieth so hard upon the present Ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a Point? How shall I convey an Answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the Condition of great Ministers upon several Accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their Duty obliges them to bear the Blame and Envy of Actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next World, although they dare not convince the present, until it is too late. This Letter is sent you, *Gentlemen*, from no mean Hand, nor from a Person uninformed, although for the rest as little concerned in Point of Interest for any Change of Ministry, as most others of his Fellow Subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short Time will make manifest, how little the Defect you complain of, ought to lie at *that Door* where your Enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest Man who is not very near the Spring of Affairs, but views them only in their Issues and Events, will be apt to fix Applauses and Reproaches in the wrong Place; which is the true Cause of a Weakness that I never yet knew Great Ministers without; I mean their being deaf to all Advice: For, if a Person of the best Understanding offers his Opinion in a Point where he is not Master of all the Circumstances (which perhaps are not to be told) it is a hundred to

one, but he runs into an Absurdity: From whence it is, that Ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general Things, where the common Reason of Mankind ought to be the Judge; and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great Man of excellent Parts, blindly pursue a Point of no Importance, against the Advice of every Friend he had, until it ended in his Ruin. I have seen great Abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary Delay, and by Difficulty of Access, by which a thousand Opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the *strongest Shoulders* to sink under too great a Load of Business, for want of dividing a due Proportion among others. These, and more that might be named, are obvious Failings, which every rational Man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest Minister may receive Advice from others of inferior Understanding. But in those Actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the Motives and Circumstances, it is hardly possible, that our Judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the Company, where we have all blamed a Measure taken, which hath afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very Men, who have formerly been in the Secret of Affairs, when a new Set of People hath come in, offering their Refinements and Conjectures, in a very plausible Manner, upon what

what /was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever Occasion's may have been given for Complaints, that *enough hath not been done*; those Complaints should not be carried so far as to make us *forget what hath been done*; which at first was a great deal more than we hoped, or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much Courage and Address were not employed in the Beginning of so great a Work, without a Resolution of carrying it through, as fast as Opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine Gentlemen in your Club would gladly have compounded two Years ago, to have been assured of seeing Affairs in the present Situation: It is principally to the Abilities of *one great Man*, that you, Gentlemen, owe the Happiness of meeting together, to cultivate good Principles, and form yourselves into a Body for defending your Country against a restless and dangerous Faction. It is to the *same* we all owe that mighty Change in the most important Posts of the Kingdom; that we see the sacred Person of our Prince encompassed by those, whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it hath been left to our Power: And if every thing besides, that you could wish, hath not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful, although *unknown Impediments*, wherein the Ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good Reason to hope, from

the vigorous Proceedings of the Court, that these *Impediments* will, in a short Time, effectually be removed: And one great Motive to hasten the Removal of them, will, doubtless, be the Reflection upon those dangerous Consequences which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a Conviction, That mild and moderate Methods meet with no other Reception or Return, than to serve as Opportunities to the insatiable Malice of an Enemy; Power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its Opposers, at least, of all *offensive Weapons*.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present Ministry hath been on every Side: By the Impossibility of carrying on the War any longer, without taking the most desperate Courses; or of recovering *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, altho' we could continue it many Years longer: By the Clamours of a Faction against any Peace without that Condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: By the secret Cabals of foreign Ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our People, and spirited up a sinking Faction to blast all our Endeavours for Peace, with those popular Reproaches of *France* and the *Pretender*; not to mention the Danger they have been in from private *Insinuations* of such a Nature as it was almost impossible to fence against. These Clouds now begin to blow

blow over, and those who are at the Helm will have Leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That Confederate Body which now makes up the adverse Party, consisteth of an Union so monstrous and unnatural, that, in a little Time, it must of Necessity fall to Pieces. The *Dissenters*, with Reason, think themselves betrayed and sold by their *Bretbren*. What they have been told, that the present *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity*, was to prevent a greater Evil, is an Excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound Refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining Sections of the Party have no other Tie, but that of an inveterate Hatred and Rancour against those in Power, without agreeing in any other common Interest, not cemented by Principle or personal Friendship: I speak particularly of their Leaders; and although I know that Court Ennemities are as inconstant as its Friendships, yet, from the Difference of Temper and Principle, as well as the Scars remaining of former Animosities, I am persuaded their League will not be of long Continuance: I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in Confederacy; and when once they see the present Ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold Scent*, or playing a *desperate Game*; and crumble away.

On the other Side, while the Malice of that Party continues in Vigour, while they yet feel

the Bruises of their Fall, which pain them afresh since their late *Disappointment*, they will leave no Arts untried to recover themselves; and it behoves all, who have any Regard for the Safety of the *QUEEN*, or her Kingdom, to join unanimously against an Adversary, who will return full fraught with Vengeance upon the first Opportunity that shall offer: And this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that Party seem yet to have a Reserve of Hope, in the same *Quarter* from whence their last Reinforcement came. Neither can any thing cultivate this Hope of theirs, so much as a Disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a Jealousy of the Ministry, who, I think, need no better a Testimony of their good Intentions, than the incessant *Rage* of the *Party-Leaders* against them.

There is one Fault, which both Sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their Adversaries for the contrary Virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* out-did them in rewarding their Friends, and adhering to each other: The *Whigs* allow the same to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this Point; for doubtless the *Tories* are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *punishing*, will probably be so in *rewarding*; although, at the same, I well remember the Clamours often raised during the Reign of that Party against the Leaders, by those who thought their Merits were not rewarded; and they had Reason.

Reason on their Sides ; because it is, no doubt, a Misfortune to forfeit *Honour* and *Conscience* for nothing : But, surely, the Case is very different at this Time, when whoever adheres to the Administration, doth Service to GOD, his Prince, and his Country, as well as contributes to his own private Interest and Safety.

But, if the *Whig* Leaders were more grateful in rewarding their Friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the Bulk of them was in general more zealons for the Service of their Party, even when abstracted from any private Advantage, as might be observed in a thousand Instances ; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural for Mankind to be more *violent in an ill Cause* than a good one.

The perpetual Discord of Factions, with several Changes of late Years in the very Nature of our Government, have controuled many Maxims among us. The *Court* and *Country Party*, which used to be the old Division, seemis now to be ceased, or suspended for *better Tines* and *worse Princes*. The *QUEEN* and *Ministry* are, at this Time, fully in the true Interest of the Kingdom ; and therefore the *Court* and *Country* are of a Side ; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent Faction, nursed up by the *Necessities* or *Mistakes* of a late good, *al tho'* unexperienced Prince. *Court* and *Country* ought therefore to join their Forces against those common Enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm our selves

selves against them, when we consider that the greatest Misfortune which can befall the Nation, are what would most answer their *Interest* and their *Wishes*; a perpetual War increases their Money, breaks and beggars their *Landed Enemies*. The Ruin of the Church would please the *Dissenters*, *Deists*, and *Socinians*, whereof the Body of the Party consists. A *Commonwealth*, or a *Protector*, would gratify the *Republican Principles* of some; and the Ambition of others, among them.

I would infer from hence, that no Discouragements of an inferior Nature, such, I mean, as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill Impression of the present Ministry. If all Things have not been hitherto done as you, *Gentlemen*, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the *secret Instruments* of that Faction. The Truth of this hath appeared from some late Incidents more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a Doubt, whether a *certain Person* be in *earnest*, after the united and avowed Endeavours of a whole Party to strike directly at his Head.

When it happens, by some private cross Intrigues, that a great Man hath not the Power which is thought due to his Station, he will, however, probably desire the Reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the Dignity, nor hardly go thro' the common Business of his Place; yet is it that Reputation to which he owes all the Envy and Hatred of others, as well

well as his own Disquiets. Mean time his expecting Friends impute all their Disappointments to some deep Design, or to his Defect of Good-will ; and his Enemies are sure to cry up his Excess of Power, especially in those Points where they are confident it is most shortened. A Minister, in this difficult Case, is sometimes forced to preserve his Credit, by forbearing what *is* in his Power, for fear of discovering how far the Limits extend of what *is not* ; or perhaps for fear of shewing an Inclination contrary to that of his Master. Yet all this while he lies under the Reproach of *Delay, Unsteadiness, or Want of Sincerity*. So that there are many Inconveniences and Dangers, either in discovering, or concealing the Want of Power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that Ministers may happen to suffer for the *Sins of their Predecessors*, who, by their great Abuses and Monopolies of Power and Favour, have taught Princes to be more thirsty for the future in the Distribution of both. And as in common Life, whoever hath been long confined, is very fond of his Liberty, and will not easily endure the very Appearance of Restraint, even from those who have been the Instruments in setting him free ; so it is with the Recovery of Power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished Jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a Juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest Man should venture to place himself at the Head of Affairs upon any other Regard than

the

the Safety of his Country, and the Advice of
Socrates, to prevent an ill Man from coming in:

Upon the whole, I do not see any one Ground of Suspicion or Dislike, which you, *Gentlemen*, or others, who wish well to their Country, may have entertained about Persons or Proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best Information. Nay, I will venture to go one Step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this Occasion; yet, whoever will reason impartially upon the whole State of Affairs, must entirely acquit the Ministry of that Delay and Neutrality which have been laid to their Charge. Or suppose some small Part of this Accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the World will soon be convinced) yet the Consequences of any Resentment, at this Time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for if the present Ministry be made so uneasy, that a Change be thought necessary, Things will return of Course into the old Hands of those, whose *little Fingers will be found heavier than their Predecessors Loins*. The *Whig-Faction* is so dexterous at Corrupting, and the People so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a Turn of Affairs, upon a new Election, to procure a Majority against you. They will resume their Power with a Spirit like that of *Marius* or *Sylla*, or the last *Triumvirate*; and those Ministers, who have been most censured

for

for too much Hesitation, will fall the first Sacrifices to their Vengeance ; but these are the finallest Mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning Exiles. What Security can a Prince hope for his Person, or his Crown, or even for the Monarchy itself ? He must expect to see his best Friends brought to the Scaffold for *asserting his Rights* ; to see his *Prerogative* trampled on, and his *Treasure* applied to feed the *Avarice* of those who make themselves his *Keepers* ; to hear himself treated with Insolence and Contempt ; to have his *Family* purged at Pleasure by their Humour and Malice ; and to retain even the Name and Shadow of a King no longer than his *Ephori* shall think fit.

These are the inevitable Consequences of such a Change of Affairs, as that envenomed Party is now projecting, which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present Ministry, until this *Domestick Enemy* is out of all Possibility of making Head any more,

A PRO-

A
 PROPOSAL
 FOR GIVING
 BADGES
 TO THE
 BEGGARS
 In all the
 Parishes of *DUBLIN*.

By the Dean of St. PATRICK's.

Written in the Year 1737.

IT hath been a general Complaint, that the Poor-House, especially since the new Constitution by Act of Parliament, hath been of no Benefit

A PROPOSAL for giving BADGES, &c. 301
Benefit to this City, for the Ease of which it
was wholly intended. I had the Honour to be
a Member of it many Years before it was new
modelled by the Legislature; not from any per-
sonal Regard, but merely as one of the two
Deans who are of Course put into most Com-
missions that relate to the City; and I have
likewise the Honour to have been left out of se-
veral Commissions upon the Score of Party, in
which my Predecessors, Time out of Mind,
have always been Members.

The first Commission was made up of about
fifty Persons, which were, the Lord Mayor,
Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other
Citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops,
the two Deans of the City, and one or two more
Gentlemen. And I must confess my Opinion,
that the dissolving the old Commission, and
establishing a new one of near three times the
Number, have been the great Cause of render-
ing so good a Design not only useless, but a
Grievance instead of a Benefit to the City. In
the present Commission all the City Clergy are
included, besides a great Number of 'Squires,
not only those who reside in *Dublin*, and the
Neighbourhood, but several who live at a great
Distance, and cannot possibly have the least
Concern for the Advantage of the City.

At the few general Meetings that I have at-
tended since the new Establishment, I observed
very little was done except one or two Acts of
extreme Justice, which I then thought might as
well have been spared: And I have found the

Court of Assistants usually taken up in little Wrangles about Coachmen, or adjusting Accounts of Meal and Small Beer; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given Place to Matters of much greater Moment, I mean some Schemes recommended to the General Board, for answering the chief Ends in erecting and establishing such a Poor-House, and endowing it with so considerable a Revenue: And the principal End I take to have been that of maintaining the Poor and Orphans of the City, where the Parishes are not able to do it; and clearing the Streets from all Strollers, Foreigners, and sturdy Beggars, with which, to the universal Complaint and Admiration, *Dublin* is more infested since the Establishment of the Poor-House, than it was ever known to be since its first Erection.

As the whole Fund for supporting this Hospital is raised only from the Inhabitants of the City; so there can be hardly any thing more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining Foreign Beggars and Bastards, or Orphans, whose Country Landlords never contributed one Shilling towards their Support. I would engage, that half this Revenue, if employed with common Care, and no very great Degree of common Honesty, would maintain all the real Objects of Charity in this City, except a small Number of original Poor in every Parish, who might, without being burthensome to the Parishioners, find a tolerable Support.

I have

I have for some Years past applied myself to several Lord Mayors, and the late Archbishop of *Dublin*, for a Remedy to this Evil of foreign Beggars ; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain Proposal, I mean, that of Badging the Original Poor of every Parish, who begged in the Streets ; That, the said Beggars should be confined to their own Parishes ; That, they should wear their Badges well sown upon one of their Shoulders, always visible, on Pain of being whipped and turned out of Town ; or whatever legal Punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong Way of thinking in some Clergymen, and the Indifference of others, this Method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual Disquiet, which they do not ill deserve ; and if the Grievance affected only them, it would be of less Consequence ; because the Remedy is in their own Power : But, all Street-walkers and Shop-keepers bear an equal Share in this hourly Vexation.

I never heard more than one Objection against this Expedient of badging the Poor, and confining their Walks to their several Parishes. The Objection was this : What shall we do with the Foreign Beggars ? Must they be left to starve ? I answered, No ; but they must be driven or whipped out of Town ; and let the next Country Parish do as they please, or rather, after the Practice in *England*, send them from one Parish to another, until they reach their own Homes. By the Old Laws of *Eng-*

land still in Force, and I presume by those of Ireland, every Parish is bound to maintain its own Poor; and the Matter is of no such Consequence in this Point as some would make it, whether a Country Parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poor Parishes of the Kingdom, all Necessaries for Life proper for poor People are comparatively cheaper; I mean Butter-milk, Oat-meal, Potatoes, and other Vegetables; and every Farmer or Cottager who is not himself a Beggar, can sometimes spare a Sup or a Morsel, not worth a fourth Part of a Farthing, to an indigent Neighbour of his own Parish, who is disabled from Work. A Beggar Native of the Parish is known to the Squire, to the Church Minister, to the Pepish Priest, or the Conventicle Teachers, as well as to every Farmer: He hath generally some Relations able to live, and contribute something to his Maintenance. None of which Advantages can be reasonably expected on a Removal to Places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his Trull, and Litter of Brats (if he has any) may get half their Support by doing some Kind of Work in their Power, and thereby be less burthensome to the People. In short, all Necessaries of Life grow in the Country, and not in Cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equal that Beggars should put us to the Charge of giving them Victuals, and the Carriage too.

But, when the Spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his Females and their Equipage of Children,

Children, he becomes a Nuisance to the whole Country : He and his Females are Thieves, and teach the Trade of stealing to their Brood at four Years old ; and if his Infirmitiess be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a single Person unarmed to meet him on the Road. He wanders from one Country to another, but still with a View to this Town, whither he arrives at last, and enjoys all the Privileges of a *Dublin Beggar*.

I do not wonder that the Country Squires should be very willing to send up their Colonies ; but why the City should be content to receive them, is beyond my Imagination.

If the City were obliged by their Charter to maintain a thousand Beggars, they could do it cheaper by Eighty *per Cent.* a hundred Miles off, than in this Town, or any of its Suburbs.

There is no Village in *Connaught*, that in Proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing Miseries of *Ireland*, as its Capital City ; to which Miseries there hardly remained any Addition, except the perpetual Swarms of Foreign Beggars, who might be banished in a Month without Expence, and with very little Trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great Number of Street-Beggars, I find some weak Attempts have been made in one or two Parishes to promote the wearing of Badges : and my first Question to those who ask an Alms is, *Where is your Badge ?* I have, in several Years,

met with about a Dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their Pockets, others from under their Coat, and two or three on their Shoulders, only covered with a sort of Capes which they could lift up, or let down, upon Occasion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be seen with a Badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious Terms, particularly the Females. They all look upon such an Obligation as a high Indignity done to their Office. I appeal to all indifferent People, whether such Wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must confess, this absurd Insolence hath so affected me, that, for several Years past, I have not disposed of one single Farthing to a Street Beggar, nor intend to do so until I see a better Regulation; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my Brother-walkers to follow my Example, which most of them assure me they do. For, if Beggary be not able to beat out Pride, it cannot deserve Charity. However, as to Persons in Coaches and Chairs, they bear but little of the Persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To say the Truth, there is not a more undeserving vicious Race of Human-kind than the Bulk of those who are reduced to Beggary, even in this beggarly Country. For as a great Part of our publick Miseries is originally owing to our own Faults (but what those Faults are, I am grown by Experience too wary to mention)

mention) so I am confident, that, among the meaner People, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving Condition, did not become so by what the Lawyers call the **Work of GOD**, either upon their Bodies or Goods; but merely from their own Idleness, attended with all manner of Vices, particularly Drunkenness, Thievery, and Cheating.

Whoever enquires, as I have frequently done, from those who have asked me an Alms, what was their former Course of Life, will find them to have been Servants in good Families, broken Tradesmen, Labourers, Cottagers, and what they call decayed House-keepers; but (to use their own Cant) reduced by Losses and Crosses, by which nothing can be understood but Idleness and Vice.

As this is the only Christian Country where People, contrary to the old Maxim, are the Poverty, and not the Riches of the Nation; so the Blessing of *Increase* and *Multiply* is by us converted into a Curse: And, as Marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free Countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with Christianity. It is seldom known in *England*, that the Labourer, the lower Mechanick, the Servant, or the Cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath saved up a Stock of Money sufficient to carry on his Business; or takes a Wife without a suitable Portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly

308. A PROPOSAL for giving
yearly Addition to that Stock, with a View
of providing for his Children. But, in this
Kingdom, the Case is directly contrary, where
many thousand Couples are yearly married,
whose whole united Fortunes, bating the Rags
on their Backs, would not be sufficient to pur-
chase a Pint of Butter-milk for their Wedding-
Supper, nor have any Prospect of supporting
their *honourable State* but by Service, or La-
bour, or Thievery. Nay, their *Happiness* is
often deferred until they find Credit to borrow,
or Cunning to steal, a Shilling to pay their
Popish Priest, or infamous Couple-Beggar.
Surely no miraculous Portion of Wisdom would
be required to find some kind of Remedy
against this destructive Evil, or at least, not to
draw the Consequences of it upon our decay-
ing City, the greatest Part whereof must, of
Course, in a few Years become desolate, or
in Ruins.

In all other Nations that are not absolutely
barbarous, Parents think themselves bound by
the Law of Nature and Reason, to make some
Provision for their Children ; but the Reasons
offered by the Inhabitants of *Ireland* for mar-
rying, is, that they may have Children to
maintain them when they grow old, and un-
able to work.

I am informed that we have been, for some
Time past, extremely obliged to *England* for
one very beneficial Branch of Commerce : for,
it seems they are grown so gracious as to trans-
mit

mit us continually Colonies of Beggars, in return for a Million of Money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no Offence, I profess to mean real *English* Beggars in the literal Meaning of the Word, as it is usually understood by Protestants. It seems the Justices of the Peace and Parish-Officers in Western Coasts of *England* have, a good while, followed the Trade of exporting hither their supernumerary Beggars, in order to advance the *English* Protestant Interest among us, and these they are so kind to send over *gratis*, and Duty-free. I have had the Honour, more than once, to attend large Cargoes of them from *Chester* to *Dublin*: And I was then so ignorant as to give my Opinion, that our City should receive them into *Bridewell*, and, after a Month's Residence, having been well whipt twice a Day, fed with Bran and Water, and put to hard Labour, they should be returned honestly back with Thanks, as cheap as they came: Or, if that were not approved of, I proposed, that whereas one *Englishman* is allowed to be of equal intrinsick Value with twelve born in *Ireland*, we should, in Justice, return them a dozen for one, to dispose of as they pleased. But to return.

As to the native Poor of this City, there would be little or no Damage in confining them to their several Parishes. For Instance: A Beggar of the Parish of St. *Warburgh's*, or any other Parish here, if he be an Object of Com-

Compassion, hath an equal Chance to receive his Proportion of Alms from every charitable Hand: because the Inhabitants, one or other, walk through every Street in Town, and give their Alms, without considering the Place, where-ever they think it may be well disposed of: And these Helps, added to what they get in Eatables by going from House to House, among the Gentry and Citizens, will, without being very burthensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the Poor of the Suburb Parishes will not have altogether the same Advantage, because they are not equally in the Road of Business and Passengers: But here it is to be considered, that the Beggars there have not so good a Title to publick Charity, because most of them are Strollers from the Country, and compose a principal Part of that great Nuisance, which we ought to remove.

I should be apt to think, that few Things can be more irksome to a City-Minister, than a Number of Beggars which do not belong to his District, whom he hath no Obligation to take Care of, who are no Part of his Flock, and who take the Bread out of the Mouths of those to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this Abuse to any Minister of a City-Parish, he usually lays the Fault upon the Beadles, who, he says, are brib'd by the foreign Beggars: and, as those Beadles often

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keep Ale-houses, they find their Account in such Customers. This Evil might easily be remedied, if the Parishes would make some small Addition to the Salaries of a Beadle, and be more careful in the Choice of those Officers. But, I conceive, there is one effectual Method in the Power of every Minister to put in Practice; I mean, by making it the Interest of all his own original Poor, to drive out Intruders; for if the Parish-Beggars were absolutely forbidden, by the Ministers and Church-Officers, to suffer Strollers to come into the Parish, upon Pain of themselves not being permitted to beg Alms at the Church-Doors, or at the Houses and Shops of the Inhabitants, they would prevent Interlopers more effectually than twenty Beadles.

And here I cannot but take Notice of the great Indiscretion of our City Shop-keepers, who suffer their Doors to be daily besieged by Crouds of Beggars (as the Gates of a Lord are by Duns) to the great Disgust and Vexation of many Customers, whom I have frequently observed to go to other Shops, rather than suffer such a Persecution; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign Beggars were allowed to infest them.

Wherefore I do assert, that the Shop-keepers, who are the greatest Complainers of this Grievance, lamenting that, for every Customer, they are worried by fifty Beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when a Prentice with

a Horse-

a Horse-Whip is able to lash every Beggar from the Shop, who is not of the Parish, and doth not wear the Badge of that Parish on his Shoulder, well fastened, and fairly visible ; and if this Practice were universal in every House, to all the sturdy Vagrants, we should, in a few Weeks, clear the Town of all Mendicants, except those who have a proper Title to our Charity : As for the Aged and Infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve, or follow their Brethren.

It was the City that first endowed this Hospital, and those who afterwards contributed, as they were such who generally inhabited here, so they intended what they gave to be for the Use of the City's Poor. The Revenues which have since been raised by Parliament, are wholly paid by the City, without the least Charge upon any other Part of the Kingdom ; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original Design, than to misapply those Revenues on strolling Beggars or Bastards from the Country, which bears no Share in the Charges we are at.

If some of the Out-Parishes be over-burthened with Poor, the Reason must be, that the greatest Part of these Poor are Strollers from the Country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest Lodgings, and from thence infest every Part of the Town, out of which they ought to be whipp'd as a most insufferable Nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate

profligate Clan of Thieves, Drunkards, Heathens, and Whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the Face of the Earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual Tax upon the City, which shares too deep in the publick Miseries brought on us by the Oppressions we lie under from our Neighbours, our Brethren, our Countrymen, our Fellow-Protestants, and Fellow Subjects.

Some time ago I was appointed one of a Committee to enquire into the State of the Work-house; where we found that a Charity was bestowed by a great Person at a certain Time, which, in its Consequences, operated very much to the Detriment of the House; for, when the Time was elapsed, all those who were supported by that Charity, continued on the same Foot with the rest on the Foundation, and, being generally a Pack of profligate, vagabond Wretches from several Parts of the Kingdom, corrupted all the rest: so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken, are generally all Recommenders, not only to Employments, but even to Charity itself.

I know it is complained, that the Difficulty of driving foreign Beggars out of the City is charged upon the *Beggars* (as they are called) who find their Accounts best in suffering those Yagrants to follow their Trade through every Part of the Town. But this Abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the Advantage of the whole City, if better Salaries

were given to those who execute the Office in the several Parishes, and would make it their Interest to clear the Town of those Caterpillars, rather than hazard the Loss of an Employment that would give them an honest Livelihood. But, if that should fail, yet a general Resolution of never giving Charity to a Street Beggar out of his own Parish, or without a visible Badge, would infallibly force all Vagrants to depart.

There is generally a Vagabond Spirit in Beggars, which ought to be discouraged, and severely punished. It is owing to the same Causes that drove them into Poverty; I mean Idleness, Drunkenness, and rash Marriages, without the least Prospect of supporting a Family by honest Endeavours, which never came into their Thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one Beggar in twenty looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving Bread, or other Food; and they have, in this Town, been frequently seen to pour out of their Pitcher good Broth that hath been given them, into the Kennel; neither do they much regard Cloaths, unless to sell them; for their Rags are Part of their Tools with which they work: They want only Ale, Brandy, and other strong Liquors, which cannot be had without Money: and Money, as they conceive, always abounds in the Metropolis.

I had some Thoughts to offer upon this Subject. But as I am a Desponder in my Nature,

and have tolerably well discovered the Disposition of our People, who never will move a Step towards easing themselves from any one single Grievance; it will be thought, that I have already said too much, and to little or no Purpose, which hath often been the Fate or Fortune of the Writer.

J. SWIFT.

April 22, 1737.

The END of the NINTH VOLUME.



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